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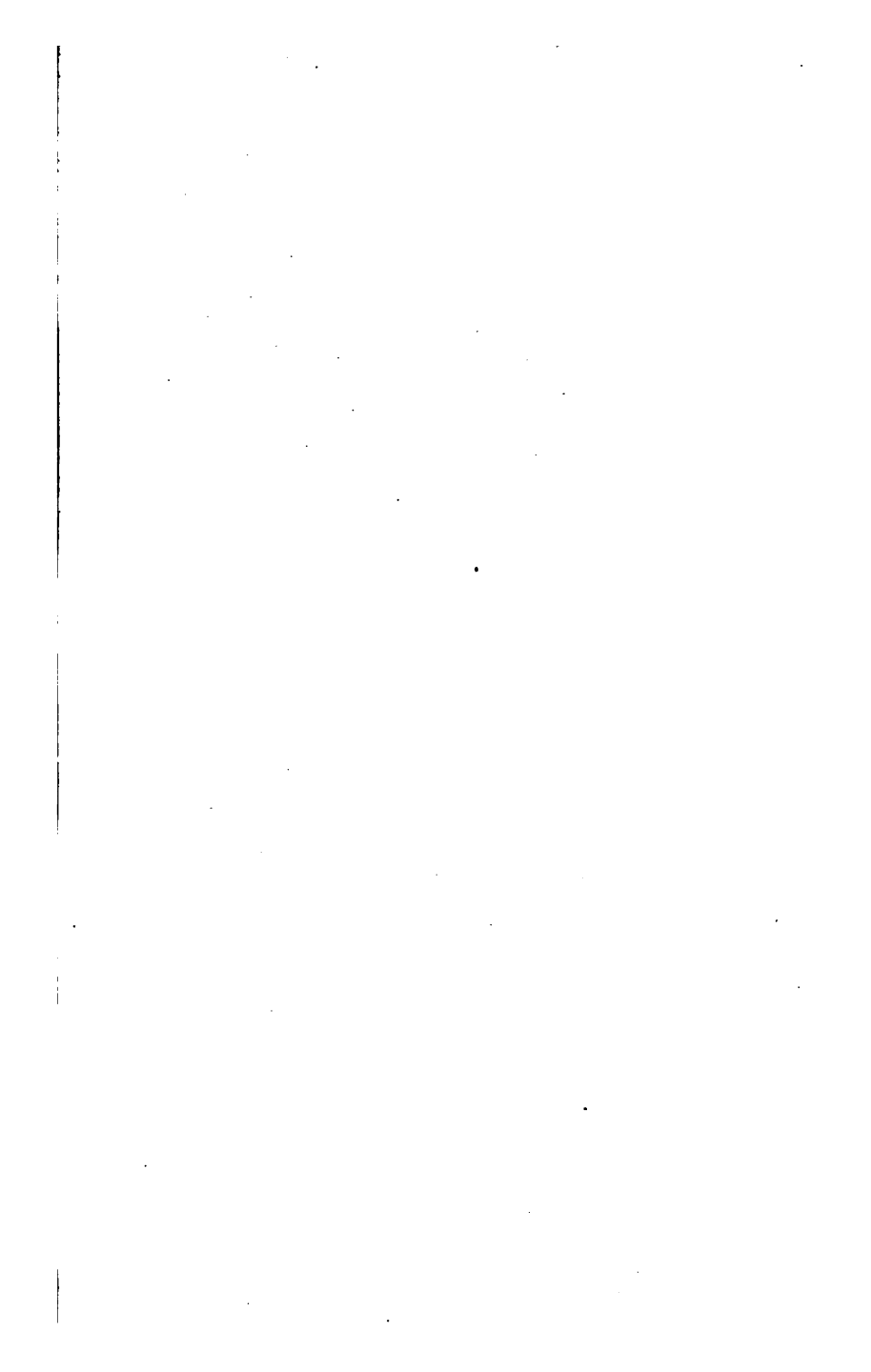
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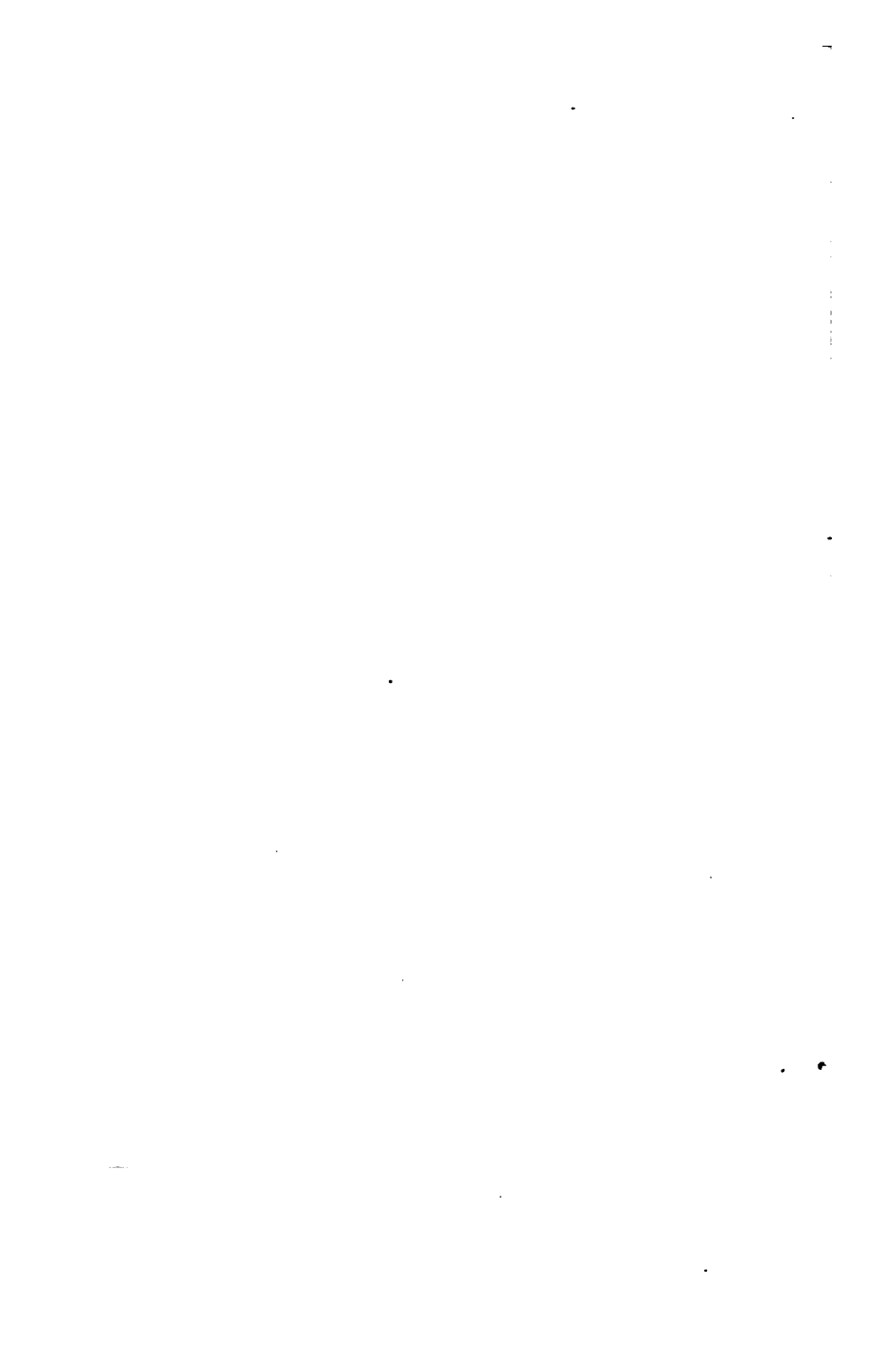
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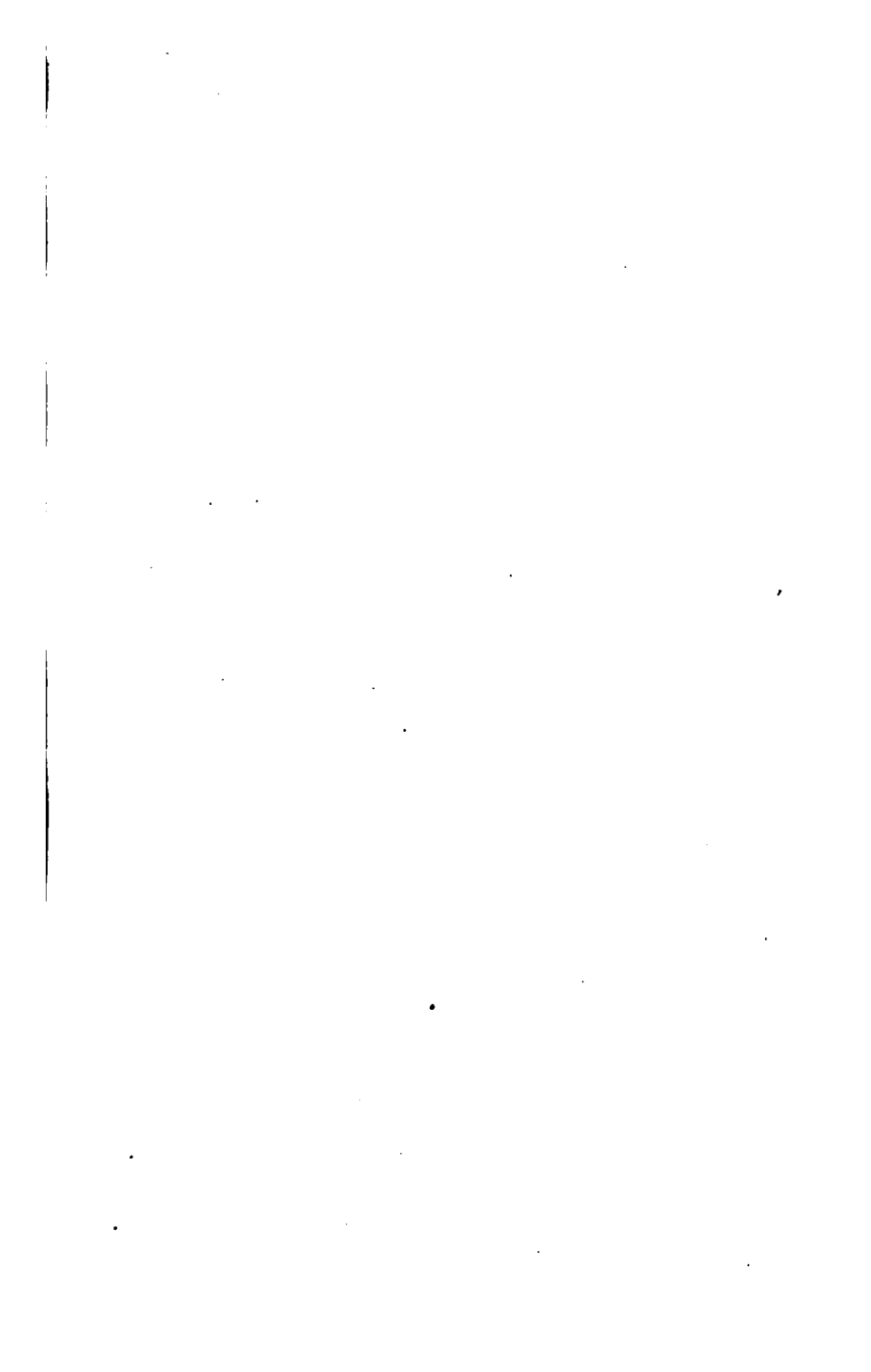
**SPEECHES**  
**AND**  
**PUBLIC CORRESPONDENCE**  
**OF**  
**RATCLIFFE HICKS**

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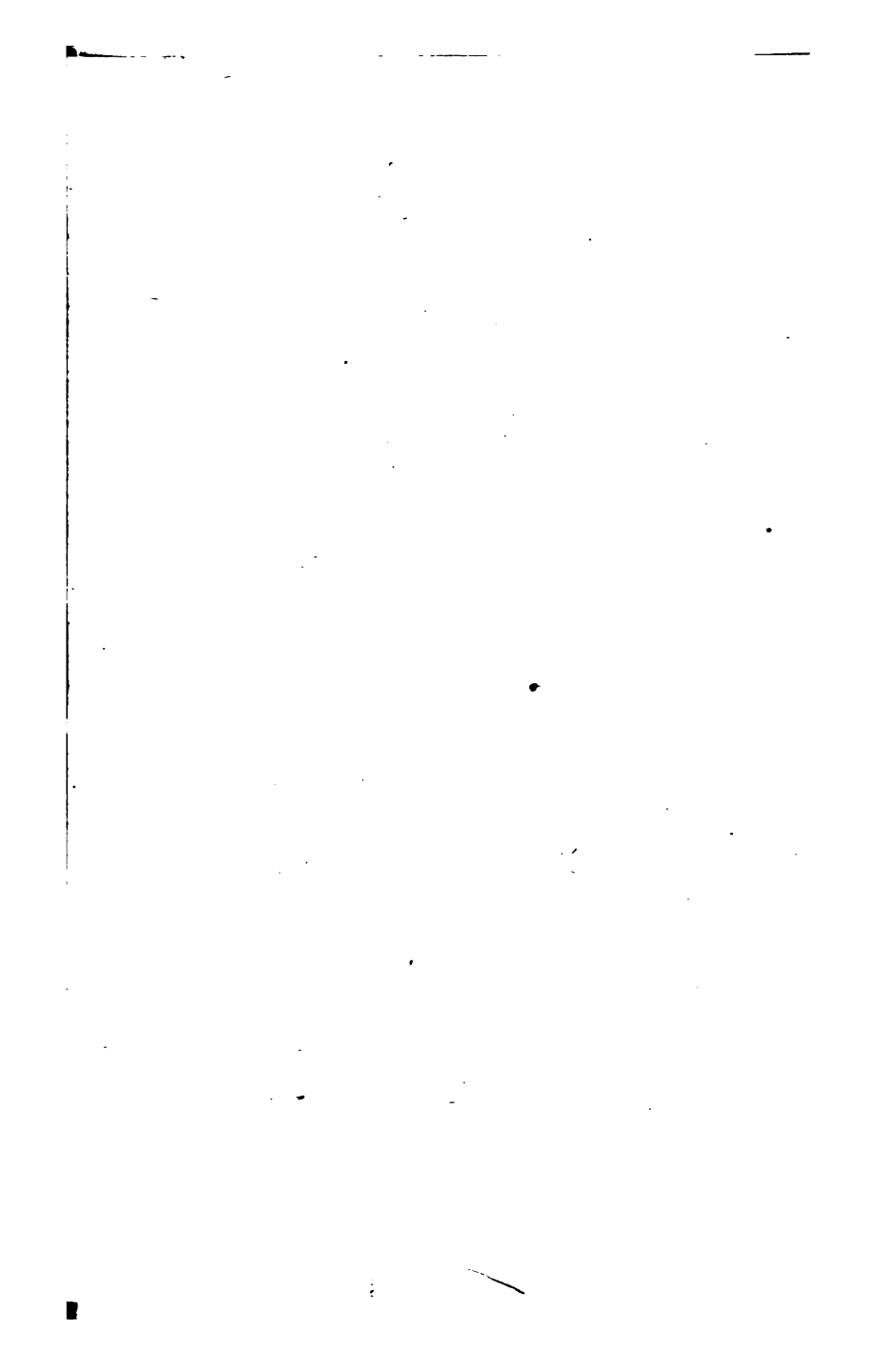
I regret that absence from the country prevented my reading the proofs, and that many errors have crept into the book, which I may try to correct in another edition. Some of them I have had corrected in this edition with a pen.

RATCLIFFE HICKS.

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SPEECHES  
AND  
PUBLIC CORRESPONDENCE  
OF  
RATCLIFFE HICKS



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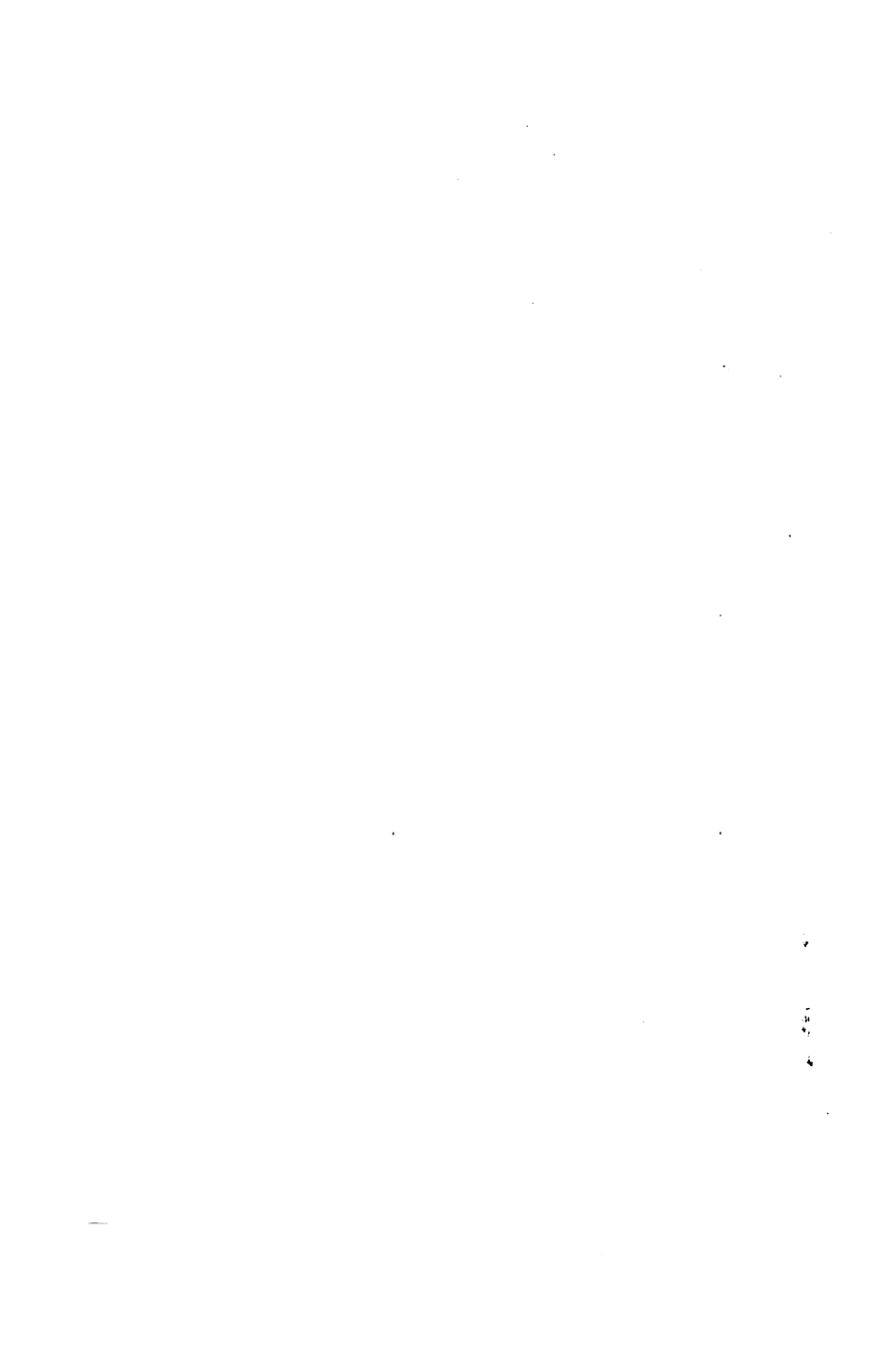
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# BIOGRAPHY

*I have been requested to compile and have printed the speeches and public papers of Ratcliffe Hicks for distribution among his immediate friends. They may not be uninteresting to the general public, and I feel sure that there are some who will be pleased to have in this permanent form the public utterances of Mr. Hicks on matters of general interest to the people of the State of Connecticut.*



## BIOGRAPHY

**R**ATCLIFFE HICKS was born in the picturesque town of Tolland, Conn., Oct. 3, 1843. He is to-day the chief representative of a line of ancestors dating back in this country to 1644, and in England till it loses itself in the misty ages of the past. Since the arrival of his first American ancestor, Thomas Hicks, who sailed from London in 1644, and settled in Scituate, Mass., the family has been closely identified with the progress of America. Its members have achieved distinction in all walks of life. They have won success on the seas and on the land, in private pursuits and in public, in trade and in the professions. For the past <sup>half</sup> century ~~and a half~~ the family has made its home in historic Connecticut. Its name has an honored place in the annals of that State, and to the treasury of the noble efforts of his forefathers, Ratcliffe Hicks, the subject of this sketch, has added the wealth of his own endeavors.

In these days when so much is made of one's Revolutionary ancestors, it may be proper to state that his great-grandmother was left a widow, at the

## RATCLIFFE HICKS

time of the Revolutionary War. Her husband was a prominent physician of Tolland. Being left with two sons and three daughters, she took up the practice of medicine, and travelled daily for miles on horseback in keeping up the business established by her husband. She sent her two sons to Yale College. One of them afterwards became an eminent physician, and was the first president of the well-known New England Society of New York City. The other son was the grandfather on his mother's side of Mr. Hicks. He was long a leading lawyer of Tolland, and represented it many times in the General Assembly. [In the Legislature of 1866 he was a member of the committee on the eight-hour law, and drew the report of the minority. The law passed one house, but was defeated in the other branch]

The life of Ratcliffe Hicks is typically American. It demonstrates again the possibilities which lie in store for every American youth endowed with honesty, energetic persistency, and courage. It is a lesson which tells of the opportunities fringing the path of every young man in the land and awaiting his embrace. It is additional proof of the oft-repeated but frequently disbelieved assertion that the chances for honorable achievement and distinguished success are as great in this day of lively competition as in the much-talked-of good old times; for Ratcliffe Hicks, despite the long list of his accomplishments, is still a young man com-

## BIOGRAPHY

pared with others who have done as much. He has apparently many years of life in store for him in which to enjoy the rich fruits which he has gathered from his labors.

Ratcliffe Hicks was named in honor of his grandfather, who won a splendid reputation as one of New England's bravest, most daring, and ablest sea-captains. His voyages had taken him to every navigable part of the globe. His life was most tempestuous, but successful, and he left behind him a name which his grandson has ever cherished with ardent love and infinite respect. The father of the present Ratcliffe Hicks was a prominent merchant in Providence, R. I., and afterwards in New York City. The son, of whom it is my pleasure to write, has won fame and fortune as a lawyer, a manufacturer, a man of business, and a legislator. The early part of his life was spent in an unceasing effort for success. He was at that time, as now, an omnivorous and careful reader. The law, the sciences, and the best and choicest literature of all ages were to him, and are now, what many forms of amusement are to other young men.

It was young Hicks's firm intention to get a university training. With that end in view, after elementary studies at home, he entered Monson Academy, where he prepared himself for Brown University. He became a member of the freshman class of that college in 1860, and graduated

## RATCLIFFE HICKS

with high honors four years later, with the degree of A. B. Throughout his school and college days he gave particular attention to public speaking, and won many a triumph as a debater and young orator of much promise. He was one of the founders of the Delta Upsilon Chapter at Brown, and has always been a generous contributor to the Chapter. He took high rank in his class, and was one of the orators at the Commencement.

He began life, after graduating, as a school-teacher in the town of his birth. He devoted his leisure hours to studying law in Judge Loren P. Waldo's office. He kept this up for two years, and was then admitted to the Connecticut bar. Immediately after his admission to the bar, he became associated in partnership with United States Senator Platt, of Meriden. This partnership continued for three years. The following ten years he continued the practice of his profession alone, the last three in Hartford.

His success as a lawyer was remarkable for one so young. He soon became known throughout the length and breadth of his State, and also in the adjoining States, as a lawyer of great oratorical powers, of painstaking disposition, and of rare good judgment. Business flowed in upon him as swiftly as he could dispose of it. The rapidity of that flow will perhaps be more fully appreciated when it is known that it netted him an average income of over \$10,000 a year. He was engaged in many

## BIOGRAPHY

of the most important cases tried before the New England tribunal. Probably the most noted of his cases was the famous Sprague litigation in Rhode Island. For his services in that suit he received a fee of \$10,000. His activity in the litigation of Connecticut will be readily understood from the statement that his name is in every volume of the Connecticut Reports from 1866 to 1879. In two of the other famous cases which he won, the following principles were established: —

That no one can recall a gift, and that where a person has deposited money in a savings-bank, although retaining the bank-book in his possession, it is still a gift which he cannot recall.

That intoxication is a defence to be used in Connecticut in cases of murder where the intent is a feature of the crime.

Between the years 1869 and 1874 Mr. Hicks was City Attorney of Meriden, and from 1873 to 1876 he was Attorney for the County of New Haven. In those two public offices he made an excellent reputation for the vigorous and skilful manner in which he handled the public business. They were not, however, the first public offices he held, as in 1866 he had the distinction of being elected a member of the Connecticut Legislature. He was the youngest member of the Legislature at that time. He attracted considerable attention by his enthusiastic work tempered by a maturity of judgment seldom seen in one so young. In 1893

## RATCLIFFE HICKS

he was elected to the Legislature again, and did most important work as a member of several of the chief committees of that body. He made speeches during his second term as a legislator, with a brilliancy of diction and a vigor of expression which brought him commendation and congratulation from all parts of the State. His admirers were not confined to the ranks of the Democracy, of which he has ever been a most loyal member. Republicans by the score were numbered among those who paid tribute in the shape of sincere expressions of thanks for his services to the State. As a sample of his style of oratory, the following paragraphs of his speech on constitutional reform are excellent : —

“ I have one appeal to make to the members of this House. To most of them it does not make a penny's difference who carries this State politically two years hence. The sun will shine, the grass will grow, and business go on the same, whichever political party triumphs. This country is lost and saved regularly every four years. Let us do right. Let us make a record which we can live by and die by,— a record which merits the approval of our own consciences and of the intelligent future historian who will some day write up the record of this General Assembly. No political party has triumphed permanently in this country. The party which is down to-day is up to-morrow. The political caldron of American politics is like the ebb and flow of the ocean ; but it is always safe to do right, and then, whether success or

## BIOGRAPHY

defeat await you, you have the approval of your conscience. And in the end history will vindicate your action."

He closed with the following ringing words : —

" I shall vote for this bill, not because I think it will benefit the Democratic party, — I do not think that either political party will reap any permanent political advantage from a constitutional convention, — but I shall vote for this bill because it is right. This question rises above all party politics. The State is greater than any political party. Our children and our children's children have an abiding interest in our action to-day. I prefer to stand where the old Roman stood, and to do right though the heavens fall."

During the session of 1891 Mr. Hicks was chairman of the House Committee on Woman's Suffrage, and reported a bill giving women the right to vote on all school matters. He supported the report by a speech, and the bill passed the House almost unanimously. It became a law, and made Connecticut the first State in New England to give women the right to vote on school matters. He introduced also an amendment to the Constitution giving all towns of over five thousand inhabitants, an extra representative in the Assembly for every 5,000 additional inhabitants. The proposition was received with a great deal of approval, and is probably the best solution that can be made of the present unfortunate condition of affairs in

## RATCLIFFE HICKS

Connecticut,—the small towns' jealousy of the large cities.

During the session of 1895 Mr. Hicks took a more active part, as will be seen from an examination of the doings of the General Assembly, and probably accomplished as much, if not more, than any man in the Assembly.

He introduced a bill providing for a State Chemist and the examination of all articles of food, which resulted in the adoption of a new and very valuable law; and the first report was recently made by the State Chemist, showing nearly a thousand articles adulterated and sold publicly in Connecticut in the way of food and drink. He got a law enacted providing for the care and custody of bequests in connection with the cemeteries; also a law in regard to the licenses of pawnbrokers, compelling them, under heavy penalties, to report weekly to the police all goods received in pawn, thereby breaking up all fences or means of shielding robberies or thefts.

He introduced a bill providing for the employment of a clerk of bills with additional duties and powers, and taking the appointment out of politics. This law will be very valuable hereafter in preventing hasty, unwise, or crude legislation. He introduced a resolution in regard to the support and maintenance of the East Hartford bridge, which led to the longest and most memorable investigation ever held before any committee in



## BIOGRAPHY

Connecticut, and resulted in the repeal of the law, relieving the State of Connecticut from the burden of half a million dollars on this one bridge, and from all attempts hereafter to place similar bridges upon the State Treasury, thus saving the State of Connecticut a million dollars at a low estimate. The bridge was put back upon the towns in the vicinity from which it had been taken by the previous Assembly, by legislation which it was charged was secured largely by bribery. He also introduced a resolution calling for an investigation of the expenses of the State. A special committee was appointed to investigate the matter, and after a long hearing they made a most voluminous report, sustaining all of Mr. Hicks's claims; and their report, if it had been adopted, would have saved the State of Connecticut anywhere from one to two thousand dollars annually. The Legislature, which was overwhelmingly Republican, voted down the recommendations of the committee, and got out of the matter by referring them to the next General Assembly.

He introduced also a bill taking away the absolute control of the School Fund by the School Fund Commissioner, as there has been gross mismanagement of the fund at times, and placing the control of the loan in the hands of a Board consisting of the School Fund Commissioner, the Treasurer of the State, and the Comptroller. This matter was warmly discussed, and bitterly opposed by the

## RATCLIFFE HICKS

School Fund Office before the Legislature ; so it was, for the time being, defeated.

Among other measures he introduced the following : —

An amendment to the Constitution providing that no member of the General Assembly shall be eligible to any office requiring confirmation or election by one or both branches of the Legislature. That would have put a stop to the scandalous contest among members for offices.

An amendment providing that no bill appropriating public money should be passed until it had been printed and on the desks of the members for three session days, thus preventing the hasty passage of appropriations when the members were largely absent or at the closing hours of the session.

An amendment providing that no more special charters should be granted, but that all such companies should be organized under a general law, thus relieving the legislators of a vast amount of business which is only a detriment to the public interests, and doing away also with the necessity of a large lobby, which these private charters always create.

It was hardly to be expected that these amendments would at once be adopted, but in time they are sure to be incorporated in the Constitution, because they are right.

For his services in the Legislature, his party

## BIOGRAPHY

desired to reward him with the nomination for Lieutenant-Governor of Connecticut. It seemed as if his nomination were certain. Some of the papers of the State went so far as to say : —

“For second place on the ticket, it is given out, as if by authority, that Ratcliffe Hicks will be the man. He is a lawyer of recognized ability and a Democrat of the old school. He has the advantage of being thoroughly known throughout the State, which is more than can be said of some of the men who have been mentioned for the place.”

The Congregational Church in Tolland, which was built some years ago and for which his grandfather contributed liberally, Mr. Hicks, in connection with others, has lately found great pleasure in restoring and modernizing.

He has established annual prizes for public speaking at the college where he was educated (Brown University), at the Storrs Agricultural College, in Mansfield, Tolland County, and at the High School in Meriden.

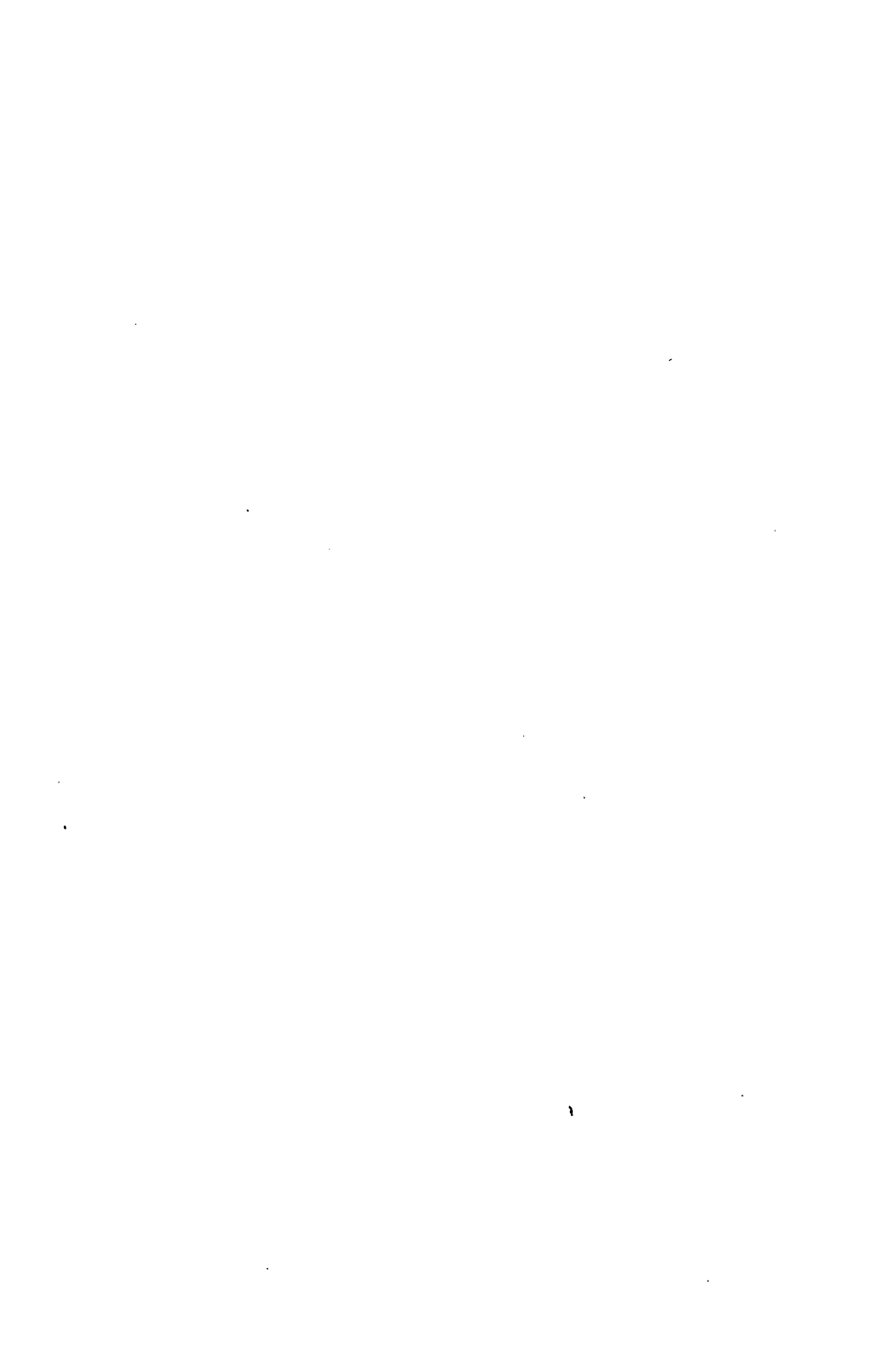
In 1882 Mr. Hicks became connected with the Canfield Rubber Company of Bridgeport. He was elected its president, and has since then devoted his talents as an executive to the management of the concern. When he became associated with it, its capital stock was but \$10,000. To-day it has a capital stock of \$250,000, a surplus of as much more, while its sales aggregate annually \$1,000,000. The success of the company under his direction

## **RATCLIFFE HICKS**

has been often spoken of as one of the most remarkable achievements in the manufacturing history of New England. It has made a substantial fortune for Mr. Hicks and its other prominent stockholders, and has furnished a comfortable livelihood to a large number of operatives.

**CORNELIUS GARDINER.**

**SPEECHES IN THE CONNECTICUT  
LEGISLATURE**



## S P E E C H

*Delivered March 16, 1893, in favor of the Bill  
abolishing Capital Punishment.*

MR. SPEAKER AND MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF  
REPRESENTATIVES:

I AM opposed to the majority report of your honorable Committee on the Judiciary, and in favor of the minority report, in the matter of abolishing capital punishment; and with no little hesitancy I will explain briefly my reasons.

I think, sir, the title of this bill should be amended, or there should be a preamble put into it something like this: That all men, rich and poor, white and black, native-born and alien, Christian and Jew, are entitled to the same rights, and shall suffer the same punishments under the laws of this ancient and Christian Commonwealth.

You have never executed in this State a man worth \$10,000, and never can, no matter what kind of a murder he commits. No man who has \$10,000 and upwards in the bank can be executed in this State or in any other State in this Union. You execute only some poor, unfortunate

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Italian, negro, or Irishman without friends and without money.

The man who killed Jim Fisk walks every day up and down Broadway, or lolls in his carriage in Central Park. If he had been some poor Italian, negro, or Irishman, that man (his name is on every one's lips) would have paid the penalty of the law; but he is, instead, a living witness of the power of money in your boasted courts of justice. No criminal who has money enough to hire such eloquent and eminent lawyers as the late Samuel F. Jones or the late George D. Watrous or the late Charles Chapman, can ever be hung in Connecticut. There are too many tricks in the trade, too many devices, too many loopholes, too many defences, too many excuses, and too much influence on judge and jury.

Thank God, they have never in one hundred years hung but one man in that hillside county of Tolland which I have in part the honor to represent on the floor of this House, and that was such a disgusting spectacle that they will not hang another man in one hundred years more. He was a poor, simple-minded Indian, who went to one of your licensed taverns, kept by a good Christian Yankee, and bought that infernal stuff which transforms men into brutes, fires the passions, and robs them of their reason and self-control. He went home in that maudlin condition, and killed the only friend he had on earth, the woman he



## ABOLISHING CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

loved as he loved his own life. He was poor and penniless, and had to die on the gibbet. The Indian died ; but the world moves on, and a little later (less than the span of a human life) the Supreme Court of this State pronounced such hanging judicial murder, as wanting in malice aforethought and premeditation, — the necessary elements in all murders of the first degree.

Now, gentlemen, if you had some positive, never-failing, all-wise method of administering punishment, so that, like the apothecaries' scales, it weighed out equal and exact justice to all men, there might be some reason in your law. But when you stop to consider the poor, imperfect, faulty instrument which society has erected under the name of a court of justice, then the instincts of every honest man revolt against this law.

How many innocent men have been executed? Not all the blood of all the Pharaohs can wipe out the crime of the judicial murder of one innocent man. Within the past week we read in all the papers the dying confession of a murder of a for-ester, in England, for which another man was executed twenty-five years ago.

In ancient Greece lawyers were all paid by the State, and every person could select his own lawyer, the most powerful and the most learned in the land, and that lawyer was obliged to try the case without fee or reward. The poor man had, in their courts of justice, the same advantage as the

## RATCLIFFE HICKS

millionaire. In this enlightened country it is the theory or practice of our government, that the poor man has no vested rights except the hope of that better land, heaven. Nine-tenths of the men who have been hung have died for the want of the best lawyer. A mortifying shame ! It is the custom of your courts, if a criminal is penniless, to assign to him some young lawyer who may experiment with the case, and if the patient dies the lawyer lives and learns. I plead for the same laws and the same penalties for the Vanderbilt and the wandering beggar in the street. Some day it will be so.

It was my fortune, or misfortune, to defend a poor criminal, a friendless Swede, some years ago in this State. The case was tried before the Hon. L. S. Foster, — a man who stood high in the counsels of the nation, and ranked as a foremost lawyer in the land. He laid down the law to the jury ; they convicted the man ; he sentenced him to be hung as you would a mad dog to be shot. Without compensation I took the case to the Supreme Court of this State, to the very court of which Mr. Foster was himself a member ; and his associates informed him that the law which he laid down was neither the law of this State nor of any State in the Union, and so the man escaped the gallows.

A few years ago a good citizen of this State went to a very prominent lawyer, who ranks to-day

## ABOLISHING CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

among the foremost, having declined the proffered nomination of Chief-Justice of this State, and who enjoys a national reputation, and he said, "I want to invest \$10,000 in a certain business, but I don't want to become a partner and risk any more money." The lawyer advised him that he was perfectly safe. He paid the lawyer for his services, and some few months after that a judgment was rendered against him for \$50,000, and he walked out of court a penniless beggar. It is said that the court has been leaning the other way since they gave that decision, and that if the case were to be tried again, they would decide differently.

A few years ago the judges of "the Supreme Court of *Errors*" — I have sometimes thought it was well named — of this State met in consultation, and the judge who was allotted to write the opinion brought out his decision and read it as bravely as a troubadour. One member of the bench said, "Did we vote to decide this case that way?" and they all said, "Oh, yes!" He said, "No; look at your notes," and they found he was right; so the same man came to the next meeting with his opinion all written for the other side.

Now, gentlemen, are you going to compel a fellow-man to intrust the most valuable possession he holds — his life, so much more valuable, so much greater than all earthly possessions and contracts and affairs — to the final decision and

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arbitrament of this weak, faulty, erring creature we so often miscall a court of justice, and ~~was~~ so often is a travesty on justice? I answer, "No." No one has a higher respect for an honest and learned judge than myself, but they are all human and liable to err.

In fifty years no man has been hung in Rhode Island, but life and property are safer than in Connecticut. In nearly fifty years (I think it is) they have hung no man in Maine, but life and property are safe there. I might say the same of Michigan. I might say the same of that great country of Belgium across the blue ocean, with its thirty millions of people. Why, in all France, with its forty millions of people, they execute only two or three men a year, and they will soon abandon the practice altogether.

In no other country are life and property held at so little value as in the United States, and all your executions go for nothing. Nowhere does lawlessness triumph as in America, and nowhere are so many men executed as here. You used formerly to hang men for arson, rape, and burglary and for nearly two hundred different offences. Does any man claim that the change in the law has increased those crimes? Remember that it is the certainty and not the severity of punishment that prevents crime. The fear of hanging never did, and never will prevent a single murder. All murderers are controlled by one of two motives, —

## ABOLISHING CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

either they act in passion and don't care what becomes of themselves, or they expect to hide their crime and escape punishment.

We are known as the hanging nation of the world. We stand at the head of the list, and, as believers in capital punishment, are only surpassed by the pig-tailed citizens of the Celestial Empire, the benighted followers of the world-renowned *heathen* teacher, Confucius.

The unchristian, degrading spectacle of keeping a human being in suspense for one round year, and then filling him with whiskey and slowly dragging him to the gallows, more dead than alive, is no consolation to the dead, but only a torture to the living. The Indian is more merciful than the Christian, for he inflicts his punishment with instant death.

There is no civilized country except the United States where they hang negroes to lamp-posts, and burn Catholic orphan asylums, and torture the negroes with red-hot irons, and break into jails and murder the inmates, and then make a hero of the leader of the riot, and name a beautiful park in his honor, as they did in New Orleans some two years ago.

Oh, shame ! That the sublime doctrines of the Christian religion should be so perverted by blind and misleading teachers as to picket the world with scaffolds. "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," is a fitting motto to be engraved on the

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tombstone of a red-painted Indian devil ; but it has no place in the accepted tenets of any truly natural or revealed religion.

One word more, and I have done. A human life is the creation of an infinite invisible God, and He alone who created it has the right to terminate it. A father has no right to kill his child ; and society has no right to kill one of its members. The argument which gives society that right is just the same argument which the North American Indian uses when he tomahawks a white man, because he is intruding on the Indian's land, destroying his game and his means of living. It is sometimes miscalled the law of self-preservation. The Hottentot has just as good a right to use that argument when he kills a white missionary whom he finds piercing the jungles of Africa, and interfering with his hunting-grounds and his God-given rights to existence and to a livelihood. Away with all these childish arguments, whether they come from the mouth of the Christian legislator, the savage Indian, or the nude, man-eating Hottentot,

Remember, when you cannot create a human life you have no *right* to take it away. The good Lord our Master never taught the doctrine that would warrant the execution of one poor criminal. Remember that one of the most celebrated English preachers of this century has boldly proclaimed the doctrine, and supported it by powerful argu-

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ments, that all criminals are partially insane, and that all sin is the result of partial ignorance.

To the friends of this humane movement I have only words of cheer. Be ye not discouraged. Remember that the world moves, that this is an age of progress, and that, whether we will or no, in God's good time all the wrongs and errors of society will be righted.

And of you, the opponents of this coming reform, I beg, not to try to mete out to every man his full and complete punishment in this world, but leave something to the final disposition of a good, kind God, that rules the universe, the loving arbiter and final judge of all men; who knows the secret motives of their hearts, and all the trials and temptations which beset poor, erring mortals in their pilgrimage through this tempest-tossed earth.

Christopher Columbus the explorer, George Washington the patriot, Abraham Lincoln the liberator, William E. Gladstone the statesman, have taught the world that it cannot live on precedents or bygone history or in the caves of the dismal past. They have challenged the attention of civilized men everywhere to the dawning light of something more glorious and far better, — the immortal future, so full of promise for the bettering of the human race.

The inspiration of the hour prompts me to close with the beautiful lines of the greatest and sweetest of living English poets, —

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" Since tale was kept of human hopes and fears,  
Since first, through mists of eld, we mark Man  
climb  
From flint and bronze to arts and aims sublime,  
Subduing earth and stripping from the *sea*,  
By lordlier might, its power and mystery ;  
And gaining, race by race, with painful strife,  
Slow steps to Law, and sweeter modes of life."

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## APPENDIX.

### *Reply to a Critic.*

NEW YORK, May 26, 1893.

DEAR S., — I have received your letter, also the letter which you enclosed from a distinguished member of Congress from Massachusetts, criticising my little speech.

I notice, with sorrow, that for want of a better argument, he quotes a text from Scripture which he thinks carries out his idea, to wit: "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." For eighteen hundred years every heresy or fanaticism, religious, moral, social, or political, has tried to bolster up its cause by some perverted text from the Bible ; and every despot to-day, from the Czar of Russia to the head of the Mormon Church, has got some quotation from the Bible to ding in your ears ; and I for one, am tired of it.



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If this little text can be perverted or strained to the interpretation that this member of Congress puts upon it, it means also that if a man in a fight puts another man's eye out, the court shall order the sheriff to put his eye out; or if he bites a man's nose off, the court shall order his nose to be bitten off; or, if he knocks out a man's tooth, the Court shall order his tooth to be knocked out.

When we were in good old Brown, we learned from Wheatley that there was no argument so effective at times as the "*Reductio ad absurdum*," and nothing shows the absurdity of your friend's argument so much as to apply it literally to every-day life. Besides, our good Lord and Master never taught any such abominable doctrine, and no verse in the New Testament can be found to prove it to have the divine warrant.

Your distinguished friend says that Harris was executed, and that he had plenty of money, and that is an argument against my position. My answer is simply this: Harris died because he was poor and penniless and did not have the best lawyer. His case was badly managed from the very start to the finish. With Bourke Cochran for his lawyer, Harris would to-day be walking the streets of New York as free a man as I am.

In that enlightened and Christian civilization which we may expect five hundred years from now, we will look for better men; but to-day nothing draws a crowd in America like a dog-fight or a

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prize-fight ; in Spain, whose people we are so highly honoring this year, nothing draws a crowd like a bull-fight ; and among Africans, our first cousins, nothing draws so great a crowd as to kill, roast, and eat a white missionary.

We live in hopes of better times, and you and I will do our little share toward hastening them on. For the present we prefer not to be counted with the "madding crowd."

Without impugning the motives of those persons who seem to chew their morsel of content over the ghastly sacrifice of a human life, we will still believe there is something good in every man, and that the worst use you can make of a man is to hang him on the gallows.

Yours very truly,

RATCLIFFE HICKS.

## SPEECH

*Delivered May 11, 1893, in favor of the Woman Suffrage Bill, giving women the right to vote at School Elections.*

**MR. SPEAKER AND MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF  
REPRESENTATIVES:**

YOUR committee on Woman Suffrage, to whom were referred many bills relating to that subject, have given this question a patient hearing, and, as a result of their deliberations, have reported with practical unanimity the bill now pending before this House.

This is a question which, like the ghost in Shakspeare's great play, will not down; and if you do not settle it right to-day, it will come here to vex every succeeding session of the General Assembly of Connecticut until it has been settled, and settled right.

I invoke your serious attention to the little I have to say in favor of the pending bill.

Since the commencement of recorded time, there has been no period of fifty years in the history of the world so fruitful of good to the human race as the last fifty years.

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I have not the time to portray, and you have not the patience to listen to me while I recite, one-half that has been done in fifty years — in art, in science, in spreading human comfort, in the developing of government, and in establishing the rights and redressing the wrongs of the governed — in all parts of the civilized world.

No class in the community has welcomed this progress with greater zeal, no class thanks Heaven with a prouder heart, and no class has reaped greater benefits from all this wonderful progress than the women of this land, — our mothers, our wives, our sisters, and our daughters. But the tale is only half told, the book is only half open, the human race — of mankind and of womankind — is still in its infancy. Are we to stop where we are? Are we to make no more progress? Are we to offer the blessings of a free government to all the poor and degraded and ignorant of the Old World, and to refuse it to our own kith and kin? Are not the women of Connecticut as fit to vote, as intelligent, as much interested in the fair fame of Connecticut as the emigrant who lands at Castle Garden — that Babel of languages and storehouse for paupers — or as the ignorant and homeless negro of the South?

The whole theory of our government is that it depends upon the consent of the governed, and that every person — white or black, native or foreign born, Jew or Gentile — who has lived to the age of

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twenty-one years and who can comply with certain educational requirements, shall have a voice in this government. Why limit it to males? Why give women no voice in the government under which they exist, or in the laws you ask them to obey, or in the taxes you compel them to pay, or in the control and education of their own children?

Either the theory of a Republican government is wrong, and we should abandon it and establish some other form of government not depending upon the consent of the governed, or we should be just, and carry out our principles to the end.

I am frank to say, I believe in this system of a Republican government. I believe in the rule of the people, and I believe a Republican system is the grandest achievement of the ages.

I welcome the foreigner, fleeing from the despotic military governments of the Old World. I welcome everybody to a lot and share in the benign benefits of a free government. There is room enough in this great Republic for people of all climes and both sexes, and I hope to live to see the day when every loyal subject, male and female, shall have a voice in the affairs of the nation.

This bill recommended by your committee is so small and so little a concession, that we believed it would pass this Legislature unanimously.

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Women are now, by law in this State, eligible to act as members of boards of school visitors, and on school committees. Why not go one step further? If they are competent to act in these positions, why are they not competent to say who shall fill these places?

Women act to-day with men in the management of churches, hospitals, Sunday-schools, asylums, and they are filling all sorts of responsible positions in the educational, commercial, and governmental affairs of the world. They are everywhere to be found challenging the respect and admiration of their fellow-men, from the Queen of England, who has for fifty years ruled with consummate ability the proudest and most powerful nation existing to-day, down to the quiet woman who travels along the humblest walks of daily toil. Their abilities are being tested on all the battle-fields of life, and the results of their industry and talents are among the marvels of the times. Over the centre arch of the Brooklyn Bridge should stand the figure of that woman to whose mighty genius it owes its completion, — the grandest triumph of fifty centuries in civil engineering.

But why should I tarry in this matter? Connecticut, slow and conservative as she has always been, is still lagging in the onward march of progress. It took her fifty years to learn the lesson that Thomas Jefferson taught, the separation of Church and State, and it took her seventy-

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five years to learn that a property qualification is not in harmony with a free government.

To-day, school suffrage, under various conditions, is allowed to women in the following States—I beg of you to listen while I read the list: Arizona, California, Colorado, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, Texas, Vermont, Washington, and Wisconsin. In Arkansas and Missouri women may vote (by not signing or refusing to sign) on liquor licenses. In Kansas women may vote in municipal elections. About 60,000 women voted in 1891, and over 100,000 in 1893, and tolled the knell of crankism in that State. In New York women may vote at school elections and on questions of water-works, paving, grading, draining, street lighting, and minor local improvements. In Pennsylvania women vote on local improvements by signing or refusing to sign petitions therefor.

Thomas W. Palmer, to whose ability as much as to that of any other living man to-day we owe the unparalleled success of the Columbian Exposition, spoke some years ago in the United States Senate as follows:—

“They cite the physical superiority of man, but offer no amendment to increase the voting power of a Sullivan or a Heenan, or to disfranchise the halt, the blind, or the sick. They object that many women do

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not desire the suffrage, and that some would not exercise it. It is probably true, as often claimed, that many slaves did not desire emancipation in 1863, and there are men in most communities who do not vote, but we hear of no freedman to-day who asks re-enslavement, and no proposition is offered to disenfranchise all men because some neglect their duty.

"They regard the manly head of the family as its only proper representative, but would not exclude the adult bachelor sons. They urge disability to perform military service as fatal to full citizenship, but would hardly consent to resign their own rights because they have passed the age of conscription, or question those of Quakers, who will not fight, or of professional men and civic officials, who, like mothers, are regarded as of more use to the State at home. They are dismayed by a vision of women in attendance at caucuses at late hours of the night; but, doubtless, enjoy their presence at routs, balls, and entertainments until the early dawn.

"I share no fear of the degradation of women by the ballot. I believe rather that it will elevate men. I believe the tone of our politics will be higher, that our caucuses will be jealously guarded, and our conventions more orderly and decorous. I believe the polls will be freed from the vulgarity and coarseness which now too often surround them, and that the polling booths, instead of being in the least attractive parts of a ward or town, will be in the most attractive; instead of being in stables and gin-mills, will be in private houses and counting-rooms. I believe the character of candidates will be more closely scrutinized, and that better officers will be chosen to make



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and administer the laws. I believe that the casting of the ballot will be invested with a seriousness — I had almost said a sanctity — second only to a religious observance.”

The great Liberal party of England, under the leadership of that man who will go down to history as the most profound statesman of the nineteenth century, William E. Gladstone, has brought forward in the British Parliament, within the past eight weeks, a bill which gives to the women of the three kingdoms a full and complete voice in the management of all local affairs.

From the rich mine of English jurisprudence our fathers gathered the principles of our Constitution ; and ever since, in subsequent legislation, these two great kindred nations have together girdled the world with the principles of personal liberty, and the rights of the individual man and the individual woman. Shall we now part company with our Queen sister in the race for human progress and the development of mankind? I say no.

In closing, I have but this to say. I appeal to every member of this House. Who taught you the alphabet? To whose kind and constant instructions, more than all else in the world, do you owe the foundation and possibly the completion of your education? Who followed you with anxious and loving heart that you might be educated and fitted to go out and fight the battles of life and be a man

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among men? And who is doing this same work for your children to-day but a woman?

Give the women what nature fitted them for, and what should be theirs by every law, human or divine, — a voice in the control and management of your schools and in the education of their children, and you will never regret it.

## S P E E C H

*Delivered June 22, 1893, in favor of the Bill for a  
Constitutional Convention.*

MR. SPEAKER AND MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF  
REPRESENTATIVES :

I SHALL not attempt to weary this House to-day with a long list of statistics to prove the injustice of the Constitution under which we are living. You are all familiar with those facts. I shall simply attempt to put the arguments in favor of a Constitutional Convention, upon such broad and generous principles as will appeal to the intelligence and conscience of every member of this General Assembly, be he Republican or be he Democrat.

This question is no party question. It is simply a question between five hundred foolish men who think they see a political advantage to themselves in keeping matters as they are now, and eight hundred thousand people who are ready and willing to see the fair thing done.

The Puritan created his State after he had first established his Church, and every man who partook of the communion had an equal voice in all political matters. As time went on, the Puritan,

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otherwise known as the Congregational, church created towns of nearly equal inhabitants and territory, for the better management of the little local town affairs, — the poor, the roads, the schools; but above all, for the support of the Congregational church and the dispensing of religious benefits. These little towns were simply missionary outposts. In order that there may be no misunderstanding about this matter, let me read from the most learned historian who has ever attempted to write the early history of New England : —

“The Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay settlements were founded by Congregational pilgrims in 1620 and 1628, and others, a few years afterwards, in Massachusetts and Connecticut. Congregationalism gave New England the distinctive character it bears in history, and, in return, the development of the New England churches and the teaching of their pastors gave the State Congregationalism as its form. From the earliest settlement of New England there was a definite but peculiar relation between the churches and the State. It was neither that in which the State rules the Church, nor that in which the Church rules the State, but rather a peculiar blending of the two. Townships were incorporated with a view to ability to maintain a settled ministry, and to the convenience of the people in attending public worship. Provision was made by law for the support of the pastors and for all necessary church expenses.”

The Congregational church — the first, the greatest, and the truest Democracy known in all history

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for more than three thousand years, yea, since the early days of Roman and Grecian history, before those ancient people became powerful, corrupt, and monarchical — never dreamed that these little territorial boundaries would be the basis of overthrowing the very principles upon which the Puritan built his Congregational church, — the equality of man in every religious or political organization.

He would have no elders, no bishops, no presbytery, no superior class, no overruling authority, but he trusted everything to the individual man, and the humblest layman was as powerful as the most learned and eloquent preacher, and every little church, however humble, was a republic in itself.

The Puritan fled from the land where the few governed the many, and where all the honors of Church and State were monopolized by the few, to establish on these western shores a pure Democracy.

As time went on, great inequalities have arisen in the distribution of population and wealth, until we are called upon to take up the cause the Puritan battled so nobly for, and won, nearly three centuries ago.

Now, the very theory and foundation of this ancient Commonwealth were the equality of man in making laws, in bearing arms, and in everything that pertained to the management of political affairs.

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Davenport, Hooker, and those heroes who laid the foundations of this favored Commonwealth, never dreamed that the day would come when four hundred and thirty-one inhabitants in the town of Union would have an equal voice with eighty-six thousand inhabitants in the town of New Haven, in making laws, in spending money, and in governing the State. If that doctrine had been proclaimed three hundred years ago, you would have no Commonwealth of Connecticut to-day, but every town would have remained an independency. Those old Puritans would have torn King Charles's Charter into a thousand fragments if it had contained any such vicious doctrine, for they were men cast in a heroic mould, and made no compromises with their intelligence or their conscience.

I ask the opponents of this bill: What do you propose to do with this question? Do you propose to fight the inevitable, to oppose the spirit of the age, to contend like the Tories of England against an outraged people, to trample upon the doctrines proclaimed in the cabin of the Mayflower, and which have made the name of the Puritan immortal in history?

All arguments drawn from the formation of the national government are not in this question. It is a compromise. It is based upon no just principles, and is the one weak thing in your government, that may — that will, some day — wreck it, if it be not changed.

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That the rotten mining-camp of Nevada with its sixty thousand inhabitants has an equal voice in the Senate of the United States with the great Empire State of New York with its five millions of inhabitants and its untold aggregate of wealth and of commercial importance, almost makes the bronze statue of the Goddess of Freedom which crowns the dome of the Capitol at Washington weep ; yea, it makes respectable the most tyrannical monarchy on the face of the earth to-day ; for all this is done in America, hypocritically, under the name of Liberty, Equality, and Freedom.

This is a question purely and simply for the State of Connecticut, for Rhode Island, for Massachusetts, for Virginia, for South Carolina, for California : Shall not the people have an equal voice in the management of their State affairs, — no representatives from rotten boroughs, no shoestring districts, but representatives elected by equal population and contiguous territory ? Any other claim is the merest twaddle, and any other position is the repudiation of the principles upon which your government is founded. It cannot stand the test of reason, or the approval of the good men of all parties.

Some selfish political plotters are all the time appealing to the small towns to beware of the growing power of the cities, yet they are not able to point to a single instance since the formation of the State when the cities have tried to legislate

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against the interests of the small towns. The interests of the towns of Hartford and New Haven are identical with those of Union and Prospect, and the legislation of the State affects each alike; the laws that are good for one are good for the other.

Other claims are the specious arguments of demagogues; they have no warrant in fact.

In every State in the Union, except Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, the idea of town representatives has been long since abandoned, and the members of the House of Representatives are elected by districts of equal population and adjacent territory, and these same demagogues who are opposed to this change will be the most blatant of reformers if the Democrats should happen to get permanent control in these three States. Consistency is a jewel of which they know nothing, and statesmanship they reduce to political trickery.

Now, I am not strenuous about this convention bill. I have read and re-read the arguments of Hon. Henry C. Robinson. The first time I read them I admired their beautiful diction, and the second time, their powerful logic. The constitution of this State is practically correct, except so far as it relates to the election of State officers, and the election and composition of the Senate and the House of Representatives. But if you put me in the alternative of nothing or a constitutional convention, I shall vote for a constitutional



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convention ; and so I hope, and so I believe, will a large majority of this House.

A single word more, and I have done : The political advantages to be gained or lost by an amendment to the Constitution of this State are not of a feather's weight. Connecticut has been a close State, politically, for one hundred years, and will continue to be close for one hundred years longer. No man can prophesy two years ahead what will be the political complexion of this State. The result of the election (I own it with shame) is determined frequently, as every sensible man knows, by the size of the bank account of the several State committees.

Nothing has done so much to make this State corrupt as those small towns where a few hundred dollars determines the election of a United States senator or the State officers, and the control of the political patronage of the State.

I have one appeal to make to the members of this House. To most of the members it does not make a straw's difference who carries this State politically two years from now. The sun will shine, the grass will grow, and business will go on the same whichever political party triumphs. This country is lost and saved regularly every four years. Let us do right, let us make a record that we can live by and die by, that merits the approval of our own consciences, and of the intelligent future historian who will some day write up

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the record of this General Assembly. No party has permanently triumphed politically in this country. The party that is down to-day is up to-morrow. The political caldron of American politics is like the ebb and the flow of the ocean; but there is one thing it is always safe to do, and then, whether success or defeat awaits you, you have the consciousness of having done the right thing, and in the end history will vindicate your action.

The best men of both parties are practically agreed in this matter, and there can be but one issue to this contest. "The mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small."

No man and no combination of men is powerful enough to lead successfully any political party against this mighty reform movement. The intelligent young Republican voters in the great cities of New Haven, Hartford, Meriden, New Britain, Bridgeport, Middletown, Waterbury, Rockville, New London, feel the injustice of this present system as much, if not more, than the Democratic party, for it disfranchises them for a lifetime from any part or voice in the management of the State affairs. I know full well that if this General Assembly fails in its duty, another General Assembly will assemble in these courtly legislative halls, on January, 1895, which will do the people's bidding, and right the crying shame of the hour.

At the opening session of this General Assembly I introduced a constitutional amendment that

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secured to every town one representative, and an additional representative for every five thousand inhabitants, believing this would be a great improvement on the present system. You have rejected that proposition. We asked for "bread" and you have given us a "stone."

A few men would rather throw this Constitution and the whole system of our government into the maelstrom of political warfare, than yield to the demands of the majority of the people of this State. This is a strange position. It has only one parallel, — the man who hoped to go through the whirlpool of Niagara in a barrel. But he was smart enough to send his dog in the barrel first; and so you send your plurality amendment through ahead, hoping thereby to quiet the demands of an incensed people for a constitutional revision.

The burning question of our State to-day is not the rights of the colored man, or the repeal of the Sherman Act or of the McKinley Bill, but it is whether Republican principles shall triumph, or whether two hundred American citizens in New Haven shall not have any more political power than one citizen in Union. While we live under a government that is Republican and Democratic in principles, it is practically the most abominable oligarchy in existence to-day the wide world over; and while we profess Republican principles, we are the biggest political hypocrites recorded in history.

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Democrats and Republicans alike are responsible for the present state of affairs. There have been times when the Democrats have had full authority in the General Assembly and could have righted these wrongs, but we have been cursed, as you have been, with a lot of men with about as much political sagacity as a mule. They did not dare to do right for fear it would hurt the party. Most of these men, thank God, are in heaven to-day; the rest are still occasionally seen in Democratic conventions.

If you can succeed much longer in defeating this honest uprising of the people, if the majority are not to rule in this State, then I await with pleasure the hour when, under the leadership of another Parnell, the thwarted and checkmated majority shall stop the whole wheels of legislation, and paralyze the public business, as happened in England, when the proud English nation stood at bay, and were obliged to give an unwilling ear to the wrongs of Ireland.

This will be my final message to the General Assembly of 1893, for never again do I intend to intrude upon your deliberations, and I want to thank you, one and all, for the kindness you have extended to me.

To my Democratic friends who expect to reap some political advantages from this proposed constitutional convention, and to my Republican friends, who fear disaster to their party from such a

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convention, — to one and all I say, I beg of you to remember that while “man proposes, God disposes.” It is as true of nations as of individuals, that

“There’s a divinity that shapes our ends,  
Rough-hew them how we will.”

All history, ancient and modern, is studded and blazoned with events showing the short-sightedness of the vast majority of political schemes and actions; for in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the evil that was foretold never really happened, and the good that was expected was never fully realized.

When the French arms went down on that fated battlefield of Sedan in the Franco-German War, and apparently the Germans triumphed, it was, in fact, the greatest victory ever won by Frenchmen. It was the death-knell to Napoleonism. Over its ashes the French people have been enabled to erect a republic; and never were they so strong, so prosperous, and so much a menace to Germany as they are to-day.

What the Frenchmen could not do, Bismarck and King William, in the hands of an overruling Providence, did for them.

The Republican party contended for negro suffrage, and won, and without it they would not be in supreme control in the national government to-day. Neither do all the foreigners remember when they

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cast their ballots how the Democratic party fought and went through the slough of political despondency in its struggle against Knownothingism. The greatest victory won by the South in that awful war of the Rebellion, and the greatest blessing ever conferred on them was when they surrendered at Appomattox, and returned to help rule the government they had once hoped to destroy.

The Republican party carried through triumphantly the McKinley bill; but the manufacturer forgot his benefactor, and the Republican party passed into a minority.

I shall vote for this bill, not because I think it will benefit the Democratic party, for I do not think either political party will reap any permanent political advantages from a constitutional convention, but I shall vote for this bill because it is right.

This question rises above all party politics. The State is greater than any political party. Your children and your children's children have an abiding interest in your action to-day.

I prefer to stand where the old Roman stood, and "to do right, though the heavens fall."

## SPEECH

*Delivered January 16, 1895, in regard to the  
East Hartford Bridge.*

I TOOK the liberty to introduce this resolution on the opening day of this session of the General Assembly.

The guns were then just announcing the inauguration of the present distinguished Governor of this State, and I have since regretted my intrusion upon the happy hours of that, to many of you, festive day.

But the boom of that cannon is now slowly reverberating and dying out down among the hills of Middlesex County, and it is time that we enter upon the serious business of this session; and I know of no business more serious than the matter embraced in this resolution.

It is not the object of this resolution to investigate any scandal connected with the passage of the law under discussion.

That was the business of the Legislature of 1893; and when Luzon B. Morris declined to call that General Assembly together, the acts of its members passed beyond the pale of legislative

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investigation, and are only amenable to the bar of criminal justice and to the forum of public opinion.

To Luzon B. Morris fell an opportunity which falls to but few men in this world ; for by one stroke of the pen he could have summoned the Legislature of 1893, and in one day they would have wiped out this law. They would have blotted from history, and largely from memory, the awful scandal that surrounds the passage of this law, and they would have saved the State of Connecticut several hundred thousand dollars, and, in the end, perhaps several millions.

But that day has gone. That golden opportunity has slipped away, and we have only to do with the present.

Now I ask your attention to the law itself. A more crude, incomplete, and unsatisfactory law can nowhere be found in legislative annals.

Here are two men, under no bonds, under no obligation to make any report to the General Assembly or any one of their doings, with unlimited power (as they say) to expend the money of the State to any amount they may see fit.

Such powers, I venture to say, were never before conferred upon two men by any legislative body in the great sisterhood of States. If they can build an iron bridge, they can build a stone bridge ; if they can build a bridge with a forty-



## THE EAST HARTFORD BRIDGE

foot driveway, they can build one with a hundred-foot driveway; if they can spend three hundred thousand dollars, they can spend a million dollars, and nobody can ask them, "Why do you thus?" Again, there is no limit in this bill to the amount they shall charge for their services, either past, present, or future, and they can draw from the treasury of the State \$500 or \$5,000 a year, as they see fit.

Now, I am not here to dispute their right to do anything. Everybody in Connecticut, however, outside of some insane asylum, did suppose that, before they attempted such a large expenditure of the public money, they would come to the Legislature and state the facts about the bridge, and show their plans and ask for an appropriation.

But, for once, the people got left. It is said that ~~the two~~ have obtained the opinion of some lawyer indorsing their right to go on and build this bridge. If they have paid anything for an opinion on their powers and rights under that law, I can only say, in the words of an old adage, "the fool and his money are soon parted."

If there is any doubt about the construction of a law, there is only one opinion worth having, and that is the opinion of the Supreme Court. All other opinions are only guesswork, leaps in the dark; and the more of them you have the less you know.

Some years ago five men, the flowers of the bar

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of Connecticut, gave a written opinion about an Act of the General Assembly of Connecticut, and the Supreme Court said to the unfortunate litigant, "You paid your money for nothing, and the opinion they gave is not worth the paper it is written on." Even to-day the bar of Connecticut looks to those same lawyers as oracles of law, just as a Mussulman looks to Mecca for his religion.

If it is the settled policy of the State to build this bridge at East Hartford, how are you going to refuse the member from Enfield when he asks for a bridge for Enfield, and the same for the member from Windsor Locks, and the member from Middletown, and the member from Haddam, and the member from Saybrook? And when you have gotten all these bridges built, how can you refuse to build bridges over the Housatonic, the Naugatuck, the Thames; and where is this thing to end? Instead of spending \$300,000, you will, in the end, spend somewhere from five to ten million dollars. I think it would be wise to go to the people of this State, the fountain of all authority, and learn their wishes, and for that reason I have introduced a constitutional amendment relative to the care and maintenance of bridges over navigable streams; and if the people wish to assume this extraordinary burden, and revolutionize the whole course of legislation in this State for two hundred years, let them say so.

How are you going to pay for the East Hartford

## THE EAST HARTFORD BRIDGE

Bridge and any other bridges you may build? Are you going to restore the State tax and compel the farmers over in Tolland, Windham, and Litchfield counties, and other portions of the State, to pay the savings of a whole year — \$10, \$20, \$40, \$100 — for a bridge that they will not even once see, perhaps, in all their lives, and that is of no more use to them than the celebrated Bridge of Sighs in mediæval Venice? If not, are you going to lay this burden on the railroads, the life insurance companies, and the savings-banks of Connecticut? If you are, a hundred such bills, *(one Lobbyists)* as my friend Mr. Judson has introduced will be useless to protect you from the hordes that will pour into this Capitol building. Every member will need a Gatling gun and a corps of trained physicians to resist the onslaught, and keep himself in fighting trim.

What are you going to do, if you are determined to build these bridges?

I see but two things to do. Appoint a commission and assess the expenses of building these bridges partly on the town benefited and, possibly, partly on the State of Connecticut. Or issue a low three per cent bond and charge enough toll to parties using these bridges to pay the interest and the actual expenses, as is done at the Brooklyn Bridge.

Now, I appeal to every member of this House to do his own thinking, and, if he does not know how

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to vote, to go home and ask his constituents how they want him to vote.

One of the most distinguished, most reputable, and most popular citizens of the city of Hartford has said to me within forty-eight hours that he hoped this horrid, barn-like architectural blot would never span the Connecticut River; and he said that if it were left to the citizens of Hartford, they would cheerfully contribute towards the construction of a bridge over this popular driveway without crucifying the good taste of every citizen of this world-renowned, æsthetic city of Hartford. And he said, furthermore, that the building of this bridge is not the work of the citizens of Hartford; for they realize that if this becomes the settled policy of the State, they will eventually pay into the treasury of the State in taxes far more than enough to build three such bridges.

And now, Mr. Speaker, I realize too well how weak and powerless I am in this General Assembly in all matters that have any political bearing; but, sir, this is a question which rises above all party lines, and concerns all alike. I am not here to antagonize the interests of any section of the State, but I am here to do my sworn duty to all the people of the State of Connecticut.

Permit me, sir, to add that I have determined to do all that lies within my feeble power to remove the opprobrium and censure that have attached lately to the legislation of this State; and

## THE EAST HARTFORD BRIDGE

to do more, — to assist you, and the party you so honorably represent, to add a golden page to the history of the good old State of Connecticut.

And to you, sir, and the party to which you belong, will attach the greater part of the honor and the glory of such wise and beneficent legislation.

I want such legislation that when, at the closing hours of this General Assembly, we leave these legislative halls, we can leave them amid the plaudits of nearly a million grateful people.

## SPEECH

*Delivered March 6, 1895, in Favor of Retrenchment of Public Expenses.*

MR. SPEAKER:

WHEN every successful business man, and even every prosperous manufacturing company in Connecticut to-day, is obliged to examine carefully into his or its expenses, reduce salaries and wages where practicable, and exercise the greatest economy to meet the demoralized condition of the business interests of this country, it would seem proper that all the officers of the State of Connecticut also should exercise similar economy in the expenditure of the State money, and that this General Assembly should take some action to bring about the desired result. If there is any member of this General Assembly who has acquired a fortune, he has only acquired it by frugality and industry. It is not what a man or a State spends, but what it saves, that makes both of them rich. Let us introduce into affairs of the State of Connecticut some of the ordinary rules that govern successful private concerns.

## RETRENCHMENT OF PUBLIC EXPENSES

We are confronted with a dilemma ; for, according to the reports of the Treasurer and making a comparison with the usual expenses of the State, we find that the State of Connecticut is daily running behind considerable over \$700, and if there cannot be a saving or a retrenchment in public expenditures, then, necessarily, we must have an increase of taxation.

You will find, upon examination, that the annual expenses of the State of Connecticut have increased in the last eight years over \$600,000, and without having been contracted for or ~~devoted to~~ *performed* any extraordinary work. Is it not time to cry halt and pay as we go?

The towns and cities in the State of Connecticut owe now about \$20,000,000, and they are gradually increasing that indebtedness yearly instead of reducing it, so that it takes a million dollars annually out of the pockets of the tax-payers of the State of Connecticut to pay simply the interest on what these towns and cities owe. This is \$400,000 more than we pay for the entire support of the unfortunate poor and indigent of the State, and nearly as much as all our public schools cost us.

It is \$10 to every man with a family of six, or, to state it another way, \$6 to every voter ; and as in many cases people pay no taxes, the burden only becomes more onerous upon those who do pay them.

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In the last twenty years there has grown up in this State a system of largesses which has almost become a law, and also there has been created a large number of commissions or boards with almost unlimited powers in the expenditure of the public money.

Their names are legion, and their demands for additional money grow alarmingly with every passing year. They are the Shylocks of the State ; and the highest qualification of a member of the General Assembly is that he can say no to these insatiate demands for public funds, and stick to it. There is no one to call them to an account, there is no one to question their expenditures, and the only question they ever seem to ask is, "How much will the people stand?"

Governors, treasurers, comptrollers come and go, and, with one or two rare exceptions, they never seem to worry themselves about the expenditure of the public money, or about the interests of the tax-payers of the State.

I hold in my hand a letter from a former treasurer of this State, a Republican in politics, and a financier of great ability, who has written to me urging the importance of contracting the expenditures of the State of Connecticut.

I do not know that anything can be accomplished by this resolution, but it will do no harm to try it. I believe there can be easily discovered an annual saving of from fifty to one hundred thousand dol-



## RETRENCHMENT OF PUBLIC EXPENSES

lars. I have not time to allude to many of the extravagances of the State, but will refer to a few as a sample of what I mean. Some of them I do not care to allude to, for fear of stirring up a hornet's nest.

There are some expenditures in the last report of the Comptroller which seem perfectly outrageous. You will find that it cost over \$30,000 to pay the running expenses of the Senate in 1893, — this is, in addition to their salaries and railroad fares, over \$1,000 for every member ; while the running expenses of the House of Representatives, with two hundred and sixty-odd members, and transacting more than three-fourths of the legislative business of the State, cost only \$28,000. If it is said that the Senate of 1893 was Democratic, my answer is that they were only following in the footsteps of their predecessors ; and I will also add that in my opinion they poorly represented and poorly repaid the party that was kind enough to put them there.

You will find by reading the Comptroller's report, that it cost over \$20,000 to print the Hotchkiss report of the labor bureau of this State, while you will find that to print the report of the Bank Commissioner it cost about \$3,500. It is safe to say that \$15,000 of the public money might just as well have been spent in fireworks as in printing that report. With this money you could have built three or four neat, pretty country churches or

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chapels, and consecrated them to the worship and service of God.

You will find that the printing bills of the State have doubled and trebled and quadrupled in eight years, and much of the matter printed is of no more value than the autumn leaves that carpet your forests. There is the same marvellous ratio of increase in the expenditure of some of the boards or commissioners of the State without any adequate remuneration, while the wealth and population have only shown a slight increase. In thirty-odd years the expenses of the State have grown to be eight times as great as in 1860. Have the property and income of the farmers, the professional, the business men, the tax-payers, grown eight times as great as in 1860?

Listen to this statement and you will need no more convincing proof of the truth of what I am saying:—

### TOTAL EXPENSES OF CONNECTICUT.

1860 . . . . .	\$217,149.45
1870 . . . . .	820,430.48
1886 . . . . .	1,308,859.11
1894 . . . . .	1,918,677.55

### JUDICIAL EXPENSES.

1860 . . . . .	\$85,764.56
1870 . . . . .	212,378.25
1880 . . . . .	256,598.93
1894 . . . . .	382,691.44

## RETRENCHMENT OF PUBLIC EXPENSES

### MILITARY EXPENSES.

1860 . . . . .	\$21,619.86
1870 . . . . .	97,000.00
1880 . . . . .	113,097.49
1894 . . . . .	190,411.94
Grand list of 1860 . . . . .	\$254,742.695
Grand list of 1893 . . . . .	416,323.252

See how, while the grand list of the State has only doubled in thirty years, you are expending eight times as much as you were thirty years ago, — more than ten dollars to every voter, while formerly you spent only two dollars to a voter.

You will find, on examining the report of the comptroller, that the salaries, fees, and perquisites of some of the officials of this State are something fabulous. One man, occupying not a very high order of office, is said to have an annual income of over \$15,000; and many men in the last few years, in this State, have been receiving annually thousands of dollars from the State treasury for services of a very ordinary kind.

A few years ago, the greatest philanthropist and public benefactor that the State of Connecticut has ever produced was at a gathering of business associates at the Fifth Avenue Hotel in New York City, at a conference in which he was to invest several hundred thousand dollars in developing the manufacturing interests of Connecticut; and after the conference he went out into Broadway,

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and walking down the street, he said to my informant that he thought he would buy a pear. He stopped, and asked the price, and they told him it was ten cents. He said it was too much, and went without his pear. That man gave a million dollars away, while living, for the education and improvement of the unfortunate colored people of the South. It is an old Scotch proverb that "the spendthrift is never a generous man."

Now, the State of Connecticut is a rich State. It is perfectly willing to pay for everything it has, and for all the services it receives, all that they are worth, and expects to pay a little more ; but the State of Connecticut can ill afford to pay two or three times more than the services or the thing is worth. There are legitimate expenses of the State, and to those I do not object ; but there are illegitimate expenses, and they should all be stopped. There are some expenditures of the State that are absolutely wicked and are only one door from pure robbery, and in any private company would result in the immediate discharge of the responsible employee. There are, generally, no bigger and more wanton spendthrifts than the public servants who handle the people's money. Men are here crying for appropriations as if money ran down hill in this State. There is no better place to commence to practise frugality and economy than beneath this gilded dome.

There are thousands of men out of employment

## RETRENCHMENT OF PUBLIC EXPENSES

in Connecticut to-day. Our industries are struggling against a sluggish and an adverse market, and against a competition such as they have never known before. The United States has lost its hold on the markets of the world in the two great staples, cotton and wheat, that made us rich and brought the hoarded gold of Europe to our shores, and the South and West are on the verge of bankruptcy. We are one great family of States, and Connecticut must suffer with the rest. We are fast becoming, as a nation and a State, involved in indebtedness, and will soon be the greatest interest-paying and debt-owing nation in the world.

It is estimated that it takes two hundred million dollars in gold, annually, to pay the interest and the dividends on what we owe to the capitalists of Europe, and this represents so much taken from the pockets of the already over-loaded tax-payers of America.

All that Grover Cleveland and a hundred Congresses can do, cannot give us back the markets of the world. Frugality and industry are the only sure roads to national and State prosperity.

Before we lay a State tax, let us remember that every dollar that the great majority of the tax-payers in Connecticut pay is so much, not less of luxuries, but of the ordinary comforts of life to himself and his family. Do not forget it. Over on these hillside farms it now takes the economies of a whole year to pay their taxes and the interest

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on their mortgages, and some men would still add to their burdens.

A one-mill tax would raise \$416,000, which would, at the rate we are going, just about pay the yearly deficiencies of the State treasury, but would not pay for the East Hartford Bridge, and other appropriations voted in 1893 but not yet paid. This means \$50,000 annually to Hartford, \$54,000 to New Haven, \$54,000 to Bridgeport, \$13,000 to Meriden, \$12,000 to Waterbury, \$14,000 to Norwich, \$9,000 to New London, \$9,000 to Middletown, and it also means to Tolland County \$8,000, to Windham County \$18,000, to Litchfield County \$28,000, to Middlesex County \$19,000, to Fairfield County \$100,000, to New London County \$37,000, to New Haven County \$106,000, to Hartford County \$97,000; and this, gentlemen, is in addition to all the other taxes that your constituents are paying.

Remember that this does not pay up the deficiency of nearly half a million dollars for the past two years, as the receipts fell that amount below the expenditures.

We shall hardly be true to the recognized and well-established reputation of the people of Connecticut for thrift and intelligence if we do not do something to bring order out of financial chaos, to bring the expenses of the State within its income, and to relieve the tax-payers of Connecticut, in these hard times, from any more extraordinary

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burdens. I should not have risen to say one word if I did not know that I voiced the sentiments of every banker, of every manufacturer, of every merchant, and of every tax-payer in this State.

For these reasons I have introduced this resolution, for no more important business can come before the Legislature than the pregnant and vital question of economy and retrenchment in public expenditures.

My great ambition is that this General Assembly shall live in history as one of the wisest, most honest, and economical Assemblies that have ever met in this ancient Commonwealth to do the people's bidding.

## SPEECH

*Delivered March 28, 1895, in Favor of the Bill  
relieving the New York, New Haven, and  
Hartford Railroad from Double Taxation.*

MR. SPEAKER AND MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF  
REPRESENTATIVES :

I WISH to state briefly the reasons which will control my action in this matter. The Judiciary Committee are unanimously of the opinion that this bill should pass, and thus release the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad Company from what is, indisputably, a double taxation, — from paying taxes upon property that is being taxed in other States.

Every newspaper in Connecticut heartily approves of this bill, and every citizen, every taxpayer in Connecticut is in favor of it, with one bare exception, — Mr. Goodwin, of East Hartford. And his objection is not so much to this particular bill. It is because he thinks some years ago this railroad did not do exactly as he claims the law requires that it should have done.

The State of Connecticut has had many faithful and honest treasurers, and I shall presume



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that they have done their duty by the State of Connecticut.

I shall take no part in the long and acrimonious contest that has been going on for years between Mr. Goodwin and the Consolidated Railroad Company.

I am here to do right as between the State of Connecticut and all parties in interest. I have made some investigations on my own account, and I am satisfied that the Consolidated Railroad Company are paying more than their just proportion of the taxes of this State, and I await with interest any candid reply to the figures that I am about to give.

I am not here to call names or to criticise any man's motives, or to indulge in any personalities, but I am here to argue this matter, as I propose to do every other matter which comes before this General Assembly, on a high and lofty plane of reason and of solid facts. Every person and every interest which have suffered or are suffering an injury which no other court can redress, have a right to appeal to this General Assembly,— the court of the last appeal.

I make the total cash value of this railroad company to be \$45,620,884.99 for the entire length of  $248\frac{22}{100}$  miles, and there are in the State of Connecticut  $166\frac{88}{100}$  miles, making the real cash value of so much of this railroad as lies within the State of Connecticut to be \$30,544,659.70. These

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figures I gathered from the reports of your Railroad Commissioners, and from the reports of this company to its own stockholders, and I have also been aided by experts not in the employ of this railroad company. The portion of railroad lying in New York State costs more per mile than the same number of miles in Connecticut, but I have made no difference in my calculations on that account.

Now, a one per cent tax on so much of this property as lies within the State of Connecticut would raise \$305,446.50, which is the fair rate of taxation of all property in Connecticut, where it is assessed at its full value, as in the city of Bridgeport, and many other places in the State.

Under your present system of taxing the railroads of this State, this company pays into the treasury on that same property, \$535,049.85, an excess of taxation above the proportion that all other property pays of \$229,603.25, showing that this company is paying one and three-fourths per cent on the full cash value of its property. In ninety-nine towns out of a hundred in this State the property is not assessed for more than one-half to two-thirds of its full value, which makes the burden which this company is carrying still more onerous, paying as it is one and three-fourths per cent upon the full value of the road.

This company paid for the year ending Sept. 20, 1894, twenty-eight per cent of the entire rev-

## DOUBLE TAXATION

enues of the State of Connecticut, and forty per cent of the total taxes paid by corporations, including insurance companies, savings-banks, express companies, telephone companies, and all other kinds of corporations.

The mutual insurance companies and the savings-banks of the State pay from one-fourth to three-fourths of one per cent. The six telegraph and telephone companies and the three express companies pay less than five per cent on their gross receipts in this State, while the Consolidated Railroad Company pays more than twelve and one-half per cent on its total gross receipts in Connecticut.

Again, if you look at the earnings of the different railroads of the State, you will find that the Consolidated Railroad pays more largely in proportion to its earnings than any other railroad in the State. This railroad for the year ending June 30, 1893, earned about sixty-nine per cent of the total amount earned by steam railroads, and paid about seventy-four per cent of the taxes paid by these railroads into the treasury. The New York and New England Railroad earned twenty-four per cent and paid twenty-two and one-half per cent of the taxes. The New London and Northern Railroad earned over two and one-half per cent and paid less than two and one-half per cent of the taxes; and the Philadelphia, Reading, and New England Railroad earned nearly four per cent, and paid less than one per cent of the taxes.

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Now, from these figures which I give to you, I make the statement, without fear of contradiction, that this railroad company pays more in taxes every year than any other property in this State; far more in proportion than the manufactories in Bridgeport, Waterbury, Meriden, or Willimantic are paying, and far more than the property of any member of this General Assembly, I care not from ~~where~~ *where* he comes, or what kind of business he is engaged in.

It would be a sorry day if this company should come here and ask that all these laws taxing railroads should be repealed, and that they should be allowed to have their property in the several towns through which their lines run assessed the same as your property and bear the same taxes, the same as the railroads in Rhode Island are taxed.

The Supreme Court, the highest tribunal of this State, in an elaborate opinion written by that eminent jurist, Elisha Carpenter, the greatest jurist and perhaps the greatest man that Windham County has produced in our day, and in an opinion concurred in by the Hon. Lafayette S. Foster and the Hon. James Phelps, has blazed the history of this State with the incontrovertible fact that this railroad has always been paying more than its just proportion of the taxes of the State. These are their words: "We think, therefore, it is safe to assume that taxation upon railroad property is

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considerably above the average rate of taxation throughout the State." (40 Conn. 494.) And the Supreme Court of this State never writes anything in anger or in haste, but only after the most mature and careful investigation, for it knows full well that what it writes becomes a part of the recorded history of this State, and will stand there long after its present members and all of us sleep beneath the sod.

If the Meriden Britannia Company, the Russell and Erwin Manufacturing Company, and other prosperous manufacturing companies in this State were taxed the same as this railroad company is, on the market value of their stock, instead of on the value of their property, it would double, triple, and quadruple their present taxes.

It is a good Christian motto to "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you;" and let us be just to this railroad that comes here to-day and puts its case on its naked merits, and refuses to spend a dollar in the lobby, or in securing the vote of a single member of this Legislature. I cannot help thinking that the man who votes against this righteous bill is sinning against light. Let your judgment and conscience be your only guide, and I beg of you to follow the teachings of these illustrious judges, to sustain the unanimous report of the Judiciary Committee, and not to vote in prejudice or in ignorance. An enlightened public sentiment will approve of your action.

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While I am here I shall try to do my duty to the State of Connecticut ; but the longer I stay, I can say truthfully, the more I come to prefer the privacy of a life exempt from public cares and annoyance, and to think as Shakespeare has so aptly said, —

“ And this our life, exempt from public haunt,  
Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,  
Sermons in stones, and good in everything.”

## S P E E C H

*Delivered January 22, 1895, on presenting a Resolution appointing a Commission on the Revision of the Constitution.*

MR. SPEAKER :

I AM not so crazy as to expect to obtain from this Legislature aught that will be of any value to the unfortunate party to which I belong. I know how useless it is to hope for anything from a Legislature so overwhelmingly Republican and in a State giving such an enormous Republican majority.

We on this side of the House are like the holy nuns, who, when they join their sacred order, renounce all the pomp and glory of this world. We know that they are not for us.

But there are many amendments to the Constitution, upon which all good men are agreed, that would tend to protect the corporate interests of the State, to advance the interests of the laboring masses, to facilitate the administration of justice, and to promote the welfare and growth of the State we all love so well.

It is eighty years since this Constitution was adopted. At that time there were no railroads in

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the State, no steamboats ploughing the waters of its rivers and bays, no life insurance companies, no savings-banks to speak of. Meriden was a mud-hole, New Britain a sterile farm. The whole character of the State has changed in eighty years.

I sat down to read the Constitution the other day, and one-third is obsolete. We wish to make the Constitution in harmony with the Constitutions of our sister States and with the progressive ideas of the nineteenth century.

A majority of this committee are among the keenest and best men of the Republican party, and it would seem as if they could be trusted ; but beyond all that, this commission must submit their views to this General Assembly, and every man here has a vote and can say "yes" or "no" on any and every question submitted.

I appeal to the intelligent men of this General Assembly to vote for this resolution, and to vote for it now, so that this commission can proceed with their work, hear all parties in interest, and report to this General Assembly at an early date.

Let us do something in our day and generation, and not leave everything to posterity to ponder over and settle.



## SPEECH

*Delivered May 21, 1895, on the Resolution creating a Commission on the Revision of the Constitution.*

MR. SPEAKER AND MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES :

I INTRODUCED, early in the session, an act providing for a commission to report to this General Assembly amendments to the Constitution of the State. I am aware that it is not a Democratic measure, and that my action has not been generally approved by the Democratic party ; but as I am not in politics for a living, I am at liberty to exercise my own judgment. I am a practical man, living in a practical age ; and if I cannot get all I want, I am not, therefore, going to give up trying to get something.

The amendments which I introduced to the Constitution of the State during this session, and which have been alluded to by the gentleman on the other side, are, to my thinking, very important. There is no politics in them. They are such amendments as good, sound business men and right thinking men of all parties can agree upon.

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The first is one providing that no more special charters shall be granted, but that all private corporations shall be organized under a general law. This is a provision in the constitutions of several States, and would take away from this General Assembly one-half of its business, shorten the session at least one-half, and banish this great hoard of lobbyists that are constantly haunting these legislative halls.

The second amendment provides that no bill appropriating money shall be passed until it has been printed and on each member's desk at least three days before its passage. This would prevent the passage of a vast number of bills appropriating the public money to an almost unlimited extent on the last days of the session.

The third provides that no member of the General Assembly shall be eligible to any office which requires an election by either branch of the House during his term of office. This amendment has been commended by every leading newspaper of both political parties in the State, and would prevent a large amount of shameful log-rolling, which has been exercised in times gone by to elevate men into public position to which they would never have arrived, except by taking advantage of their position in the General Assembly.

While it is true that I introduced a bill for a commission, it was very differently made up from

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the one now before the House, for that commission was composed of men none of whom, in my humble opinion, would ever care to go to their graves, and have it engraved on their tombstones, where their children and their children's children could see it: "Here lies a man who dared not do right for fear it would hurt his party."

If the Joint Standing Committee on Constitutional Amendments had read their Bible more faithfully instead of attending so many caucuses, they would have made an entirely different report, for they would have found that page and verse in the Bible where it says, "And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them, likewise;" and they would have found that page and verse where it says, "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets." But King Caucus has once more triumphed, as he has often in the past, and will probably oftentimes in the future, over the blessed teachings of the Bible.

By what theory, or on what claim of justice or equity, this committee report a commission composed of eighteen Democrats and thirty Republicans is beyond my comprehension, unless it is on the theory that a Democrat is of no use except to pay taxes, and to shout as the procession goes by. But the composition of this commission is in har-

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mony with our present system of representation in this State, — the most unrepresentative, the most un-Republican, and the most un-Democratic to be found anywhere in the civilized world.

It takes fourteen hundred Democrats to elect a Representative in this House, while there is a Representative here for every four hundred Republicans in the State. In other words, every single Republican voter in this State has more political influence than any three Democrats and out-votes them.

If you look at the Senate, it is still worse. It takes sixty-six thousand Democrats to elect one Senator, while there is a Senator for every four thousand Republicans in Connecticut. In other words, one Republican vote weighs as much in this State at the ballot-boxes as that of any fifteen Democrats.

This system makes the ballot-box a *fraud*, and the elections a *cheat*.

If there were a similar state of affairs in any State south of Mason and Dixon's line, there is not a Republican orator or a Republican newspaper from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but that would denounce it as a Democratic crime and a Democratic shame.

Now, I shall vote for this bill with all its inconsistencies, for I believe, and it is my faith, that any political party that undertakes to take an unfair and an unjust advantage of its opponent,

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in the end will suffer thereby; otherwise, life would be hopeless, and the future dark.

I believe, with the same organization, and the same means to work with, that this State is Democratic, except possibly in such a land-slide as we had last fall; and I read in a Republican newspaper (I think the "Bridgeport Standard") that they hoped there would never be another land-slide, "for never did so much political drift-wood," they said, "come to the surface in this State."

Now, the composition of this commission is not remarkable so much for what it contains as for what it does not contain. I do not know, personally, many of this commission, but so far as I can learn — so far as my knowledge goes — there is not a single clergyman on this commission. These colonies of Hartford and New Haven were founded by clergymen, and no class has done more in the last two hundred and fifty years to make our history glorious. I appeal to the member from Guilford, Rev. Mr. Range, if I am not right.

I do not find a single physician, and I know of no class in the community more intelligent, more liberal in their views, and better fitted to advise in all matters relative to the welfare and the well-being of society. I appeal to my good friend from Manchester, Dr. Whiton, if I am not right. But the framers of this bill will have none of you. They prefer politics to statesmanship, and the good men of all parties understand it. There are

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men on that commission who sit up nights and travel miles to beat the Democratic party, by fair means or foul, unless they are awfully misjudged. This commission, the way it is made up, is a travesty on justice ; it is a burlesque affair. It is a misnomer to call it a constitutional commission, — a better name would be a "Judson's Political Menagerie Combination."

I do not find a single person interested in the great charities of the State, — institutions which have been born since this Constitution was framed, and for whose protection and maintenance certain cardinal amendments ought to be made to our present Constitution.

I do not find on this commission a single farmer — any man representing the great agricultural interests, which is one-half the wealth of the State. I do not find a single one of the learned professors of your colleges, or any one connected with the great educational or common-school systems of the State.

I do not find on this commission a single man who ever soils his hands with daily work.

I do not find any representatives of the great working, toiling masses of this State, — the hope and the pride and the salvation of Connecticut. Eight-tenths of the voting population of the State are entirely unrepresented in this commission.

I do not find a single representative of that class of our citizens who are German born, who

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number a hundred thousand people, and who are our best and most thrifty and intelligent citizens.

I do not find in this commission a single representative of that great element which is trying to reform the politics, to enforce the administration of justice, and to elevate the moral standing of society.

But what I do find is this. I find scattered all through that commission representatives of the great corporate interests of the State; the very interests that might possibly be reached and reformed by an amendment to the Constitution, and I find politics in the commission from the beginning to the end.

I find some good men on this commission, but I shall await with amazement the result of this Constitutional Commission.

I had hoped that this committee on Constitutional Amendments would have risen to the height of this great occasion, and would have given us a commission which would have commanded the support of all the broad, generous, good-thinking people of this State.

I had hoped, but I have hoped in vain, that this committee would have reported a commission which we could feel assured would make a report that would be of great and permanent value to the people of this State; and I had hoped that the joint standing committee of this General Assembly

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would have taken for its motto those well-remembered lines of Shakespeare, —

“ Let all the ends thou aim’st at be thy country’s,  
Thy God’s, and truth’s.”

I am disappointed, but I submit gracefully to the inevitable.



## SPEECH

*Delivered May 29, 1895, on the Plurality  
Amendment.*

MR. SPEAKER :

I DID not think there would be any occasion for my addressing this House again during this session, and I do not now intend to make any set speech.

There are some things which you cannot discuss ; there is no right or wrong to them. There is no right or wrong to the Lord's Prayer, to the Sermon on the Mount, to the multiplication table, or to a problem in Euclid.

Some of us, when we were boys, stumbled and stuttered over the Pons Asinorum, and could hardly understand it ; but the problem was right all the same. This Plurality Amendment may be the Pons Asinorum to many Republicans, and they may stumble and stutter over the solution ; but the Plurality Amendment is right all the time.

I heard a member on the other side ask another worthy member the other day when the Republican party was ever committed to this amendment. I reply, it was committed to it when it was born into this world ; it was committed to it by every

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victory that it has ever won, by every platform that it has ever promulgated, and by every statesman that it has ever produced, — *that the people shall rule*. It is the doctrine of every Republican State in the Union ; it is the doctrine that is applied to the election of every other officer in the United States, and in this State, except to the State ticket.

No man can doubt how Abraham Lincoln would vote if he were here to-day ; no one can doubt how Ulysses S. Grant would vote if he were here. These men did not hesitate to do right for fear of political consequences. They mapped out a certain political course which they knew was right, and let the consequences take care of themselves. They never crooked the pregnant hinges of the knee, that thrift might follow fawning.

Again, let me tell the gentleman when the Republican party was committed to this amendment. It was committed to it in the session of 1893. I was talking only a day or so ago with the Hon. O. R. Wood ; and never has the Republican party had a more able or more conscientious leader in this branch of the General Assembly in the last ten years than that gentleman. He said it would be a political crime for the Republican party to kill this amendment. He said he stood up in the Republican caucus in 1893, and spoke for this amendment and pledged the party to it, and there were enough Republicans there who notified him that if the Republican party did not commit itself to this

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Plurality Amendment, they would vote with the Democrats in favor of a Constitutional Convention, and their votes would carry it. Then you would have reaped a whirlwind.

I am astonished to hear the honorable gentleman from Norwich appeal to the members on his side of the House to vote against this amendment, because the Democrats are in favor of it. If it is death to any public measure to have Democrats favor it, then it is better that the Democrats retire absolutely from this Assembly Chamber.

If such narrow, unreasonable statements (I will not dignify them with the name of arguments) are to influence members in their votes here, then the forty-six men who are so unfortunate as to have been sent here by their constituents, had better retire immediately. This is the same spirit, a little more modernized perhaps, but the same spirit which inspired the Catholics to burn heretics at the stake many centuries ago; that inspired the Puritans when they drove Roger Williams from the Massachusetts Colony, and that inspired the Know-Nothings when they burned Roman Catholic Asylums,—in other words, to hate and to vote against everything that your opponent favors, and to set yourself up as the paragon of political wisdom.

There is not a member in this General Assembly, on either side of the House or in either branch, except possibly the gentleman who graces the Speaker's chair, who has any political future worth

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worrying about. Nine-tenths of us will never be here again, and nine-tenths of us never want to be here again, and therefore most of us can afford to do what is right.

If you wish to see how happy a man can look when he is politically dead, look at me ; but I agree with the member from Guilford, and we both think, as Socrates taught, that if there is another world, and we think there is, it is better than this ; but if there is no other world, then we think still, as Socrates taught, there is nothing so blessed as physical or political sleep.

We want no more crowbar Governors in this State. They are only an injury to the party they try to serve. The last one cost the State \$250,000 for nothing, and resulted in giving Connecticut overwhelmingly to the Democrats.

I know that that same Governor is here to-day, that Machiavelli of Connecticut politics, engineering the defeat of this amendment ; but every Republican member of this General Assembly will serve his party much better to ignore that man's advice, to keep clear of his schemes, and to carry out that verse in the Bible which, much better than any other verse ever written by man, inspired or uninspired, points out the wise course for every person, be he politician or not, to follow in all his doings ; to wit, "To do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God."

## S P E E C H

*Delivered May 22, 1895, on the Building and  
Control of the Hartford Bridge.*

MR. SPEAKER AND MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF  
REPRESENTATIVES:

I STAND here solitary and alone. Mr. Judson and myself agreed upon a report placing this bridge on Hartford County, but since signing the report he has concluded to support the bill as adopted by the Senate.

It is urged that unless this bill is to pass this House exactly as it passed the Senate, there is danger that upon its return to the Senate the whole measure will be defeated. That argument has no weight with me. This matter is too serious, and the principles we seek to establish are too important, to be traded off on account of any fear of what the Senate will do.

For my part I never knew what the Senate was here for. They have always seemed to me largely like the feather on a woman's hat, — more ornamental than useful. Individually I have a great respect for them, but collectively I have no use for them.

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If you wish to live happily, die peacefully, and have some good minister say a kind word for you over your open grave when you cannot speak for yourself, in my humble opinion you should vote against this law proposed by the Senate, and generally against every law proposed by the Senate.

This bill, as it comes from the Senate, placing this bridge back upon the five towns, is a most wicked and unjust act, and any tax-payer in the towns of East Hartford, Glastonbury, Manchester, and South Windsor is almost warranted in standing with his gun in his hands when the tax-collector comes round to collect his portion of the tax for building these bridges over the Connecticut River under the provisions of this Bridge Bill.

There is not a member of this Legislature, no matter from what part of the State he comes, but would feel the same way if he were a resident of these four towns.

There is but one good name for this bill, imperfectly drawn, inaptly expressed, unreasonable in its provisions, and cruel in its exaction, — and I name it “Crazy Quilt Legislation.”

This bill, as it has passed the Senate, settles nothing, establishes no policy, and is a model for no legislation in the future. The majority of the Committee have abandoned every argument that they advanced, have stamped upon nearly every provision of the law which they reported, and have accepted this wicked substitute, born and

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created, in my humble opinion, in the mind of one man, — ex-Governor Morgan G. Bulkeley; and I trust he is, proud of his work.

This question will keep coming here and haunting these legislative halls until you have settled it right and established a policy that shall be uniform and permanent throughout the entire State.

The bill reported by Mr. Judson and myself is the only bill that will settle this matter satisfactorily to the State of Connecticut, and the only bill that will forever end this controversy. It is the only business plan that has ever been suggested or talked about.

If you have been permitted to see the beauties of this open spring by a kind Providence, or to continue to enjoy the love and affection of your family and friends up to the present hour; if your life has been spared for any good purpose, — it is that you should be here and vote to take this bridge forever off the Treasury of the State of Connecticut, and to vote that the State of Connecticut shall forever go out of bridge-building.

I will not weary this House by rehearsing the arguments which I advanced almost at the opening of this General Assembly, when I took occasion to speak on the resolution I had the honor to introduce instructing the Judiciary Committee to inquire and report what action if any was necessary to protect the interests of the State of

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Connecticut in the East Hartford Bridge matter. What I said then, time and reflection have only strengthened in my mind.

I thought then, but I know now, that I echo the sentiments of more than ninety-five per cent of all the voters of this State, of all the manufacturers, of all the business and professional men, and of all the tax-payers, when I say that Connecticut is irrevocably opposed to the building of bridges over navigable streams, either here or in any other portion of this State. Such a wild and fanciful scheme means in the end only the bankruptcy of your State treasury and the creation of a great and powerful cabal, which, with its vast expenditures of money and its numerous employees, will be forever a menace to the political integrity of the State.

Now, therefore, there are but two questions here for you to discuss and to decide to-day.

You are, one and all, directors in the great corporation of this State, and you will treat this matter as you would treat a similar one in any private corporation to which you might or may belong. I come to you, a plain business man, and I talk to you as business men. Pay no attention to any man who attempts to make you believe that the affairs of this State are to be treated in any different manner or governed by any different principles than those that apply to every-day business life. The same moral and legal principles



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that govern you in the management of your private affairs, of the railroads, of the manufactories, of the banks, and of the insurance companies in which you are interested, may safely guide and govern your conduct in transacting the public business of the State.

Now, the two questions to be settled are these : —

First — Who ought to build, manage, and control the three East Hartford bridges and the causeways connecting therewith, for all time?

Second — What disposition, if any, is to be made towards settling the contract with the Berlin Iron Bridge Company?

As to who should build, maintain, and control these bridges, I cannot consider any longer an open question in Connecticut. The Legislature of this State has imposed the bridges over the Housatonic River on the counties of New Haven and Fairfield; and those counties have cheerfully acquiesced, and have already spent nearly \$200,000 in rebuilding and maintaining such bridges, and there are others which they must build in the near future.

I appeal with confidence to the member from North Branford, and the member from Guilford, and the member from the hills of Prospect, and to all the members of New Haven and Fairfield counties, — many of them residing far remote from the bridges already constructed over the

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Housatonic River, and who have cheerfully been paying for bridges they rarely, if ever, use, — to say whether the policy that is correct in your counties does not apply with equal force to all the other counties of the State, including the great County of Hartford? Is it not almost poetic justice for you to-day to vote to apply to the County of Hartford the same principles and laws which they were so ready to impose upon your own counties?

But they say that you must not apply to the Connecticut River the same laws and rules which you apply to all the other navigable streams of this State, — an argument which, in my humble opinion, is worthy of the genius of a modern Dombey. That this sacred stream, this modern Ganges, is an exception to all the other rivers of this State is the merest bosh ; and the men or the clientage who undertake to build an argument upon such a flimsy and unsubstantial basis might just as well try to climb the fleeting mountains of the fleecy skies. They have not been able to produce a single instance in the legislation of the past one hundred years throughout the entire sisterhood of States, where any State has ever attempted or undertaken the building of a bridge over a navigable stream. The proposition is so monstrous and absurd that good men throughout the entire confines of the Republic have frowned upon it and strangled it even before its birth. If you go home

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to-night with my friend Mr. Middleton of Enfield, in one step you cross into Hampden County, through which this same strange river runs, and you will learn how the intelligent business men of Springfield and the honest yeomanry of Hampden County have bridged this river. These are the facts : —

The north-end bridge at Springfield cost . . . . .	\$170,904
Springfield paid . . . . .	\$145,124
West Springfield paid . . . . .	25,780
	\$170,904

The south-end bridge at Springfield cost . . . . .	\$116,188
Hampden County paid . . . . .	\$11,000
Springfield paid . . . . .	75,522
Agawam paid . . . . .	29,666
	\$116,188

The old wooden bridge cost . . . . .	\$30,000
Hampden County paid . . . . .	\$15,000
West Springfield paid . . . . .	4,000
Springfield paid . . . . .	10,000
Agawam paid . . . . .	1,000
	\$30,000

You will see how differently from the city of Hartford the city of Springfield has treated the matter of this bridge which pours into its lap the traffic of nearly one-half this rich and populous County of Hartford. The city of Springfield alone has paid, as you will notice, towards the construction of these bridges nearly one-quarter of a million of dollars.

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It is practically impossible for most adjacent towns to build bridges over navigable streams, and there is no better division of territory than county lines. They have all the organization and all the means to build and manage these bridges without creating any new bureaus, commissions, or offices ; and the argument that many of the towns reap no immediate benefit from this bridge, or similar bridges, would apply equally well to every court-house, to every jail, and to every County Home that has ever been, or will ever be, erected in this State. Some towns must necessarily reap more benefit than others.

The Connecticut River has made Hartford City and Hartford County rich. It has for two hundred years or more carried the produce of its farms and the products of its factories to their markets, and brought back in exchange the barter of the world. Move this river over into Tolland County and we will build this bridge for you for nothing.

This whole matter has been botched from the start. For ten years the stock of this Bridge Company sold here in Hartford for \$160 a share. The day after the award, it was worth \$320 a share, and fortunes were made out of it. This great franchise of running cars from Hartford to East Hartford, lasting perhaps for one hundred or five hundred years, has been frittered away for a song. I have no doubt that the New York and New

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England Railroad would cheerfully give \$100,000 to keep horse and electric cars off this bridge ; and I have no doubt, besides, that parties can be found to build this bridge free of all expense for the right to run cars for ninety-nine years over it. No man can calculate the value of this franchise, which includes the right to carry passengers, baggage, mails, and freight.

Look back one hundred years at Manchester, Rockville, and East Hartford, and look forward one hundred years when all this portion of Connecticut will be alive and teeming with prosperous cities and a vast aggregate of manufacturing and industrial shops. Then see how far the honor of the State of Connecticut is concerned in this contract with the Berlin Iron Bridge Company.

The main and the only real reason advanced by the friends of the law of 1893 (if it has any friends) — namely, the plighted faith and honor of the State — is, in my opinion, utterly without foundation. With every leading newspaper in Connecticut, outside the city of Hartford, calling for the repeal of this law, supported by an overwhelming and almost unanimous sentiment of the entire State, either the moral sentiment of Connecticut has become hopelessly daft and benumbed, or there is no moral turpitude or sacrifice of public honor in the repeal of this law. In fact, the passage of this unfortunate law in the way it was accomplished would call for its repeal, even without the convincing and satis-

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factory reasons already advanced. If there was ever a law conceived in sin and born in iniquity, this is one. When any man, or set of men, have it in their power to say that for so much money they will secure the passage of any law in this State, — and, above all, one so momentous in its consequences, — then it is time to cry a halt, and to teach these men and their poor deluded victims that that is no way to secure honest legislation in this State, and that “The mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small.”

The honor of the State has been twice imperilled, — first by the passage of the law in 1893, and second, when the contract was let to the Berlin Iron Bridge Company at a price \$75,000 above honest competition; and the friends of this bridge, if it has any, ought to hide their faces in shame instead of coming here and talking about the honor of the State. A distinguished member of the Hartford County Bar came before the Legislative Committee and talked about the virgin honor of the State of Connecticut. But suppose you put it another way. A woman has been ruined, and her honor trampled in the dust. Is she still to cling to her paramour in crime, or is she to assert her womanhood and denounce the villain to all the world, and say, “From this day onward I am a woman: there is the man who ruined me!” There is where Connecticut stands to-day.

It passes my comprehension how any praying

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man or woman in Hartford can ever cross this bridge without a shudder; how any Christian minister can stand up in his pulpit in this great city of Hartford, and look his congregation in the face without a heavy heart, when, despite all his teachings, they have given their approval to practices which, if continued, mean only death and disgrace to American institutions. How little did Thomas Hooker think, as he threaded his path across the New England wilderness, fighting his way against wild beasts and wilder men, to found here this Hartford Colony, that the day would ever come when his descendants would try to take advantage of the State of Connecticut, and all its good people, by means so unhallowed as those employed in securing the passage of the Senate bill.

But, furthermore, my bill provides for every safeguard that any business man can require; and the legal rights of this Bridge Company, if they have any, are safe beyond peradventure. So do not let that question worry you for a moment. As to the amount you shall pay to the county of Hartford, \$100,000 is better than \$300,000 and a lot of costly litigation; or the methods you will adopt for terminating this contract with the Berlin Iron Bridge Company are matters of non-essential, in my mind, so long as the State gets rid of the bridge.

The difference between the bill passed by the Senate and the bill I advocate is that in the Senate

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bill it is provided that if the court hold the contract valid, then the State is to go on and build the bridge. My bill provides that if the contract is valid, as we have given them notice that we do not want the bridge, we simply pay what damages the Berlin Bridge Company can show.

The present able and distinguished Republican comptroller of this State, by and with the advice of a leading member of the Hartford Bar, has already repudiated this contract; has boldly taken the position that this contract with the Berlin Iron Bridge Company is utterly void and worthless, is a fraud on the State, and has refused to honor the drafts of these Bridge Commissioners until your Supreme Court shall have commanded him to the contrary. He knows full well the responsibility of his position, and is not afraid to await the action of the next Republican State Convention, or of the voters at the ballot-box, on the charge of having compromised the honor of the State. Is there any Republican member of this General Assembly less honorable and less brave than Comptroller Meade? If these newspapers and lawyers working in the interests of the Berlin Iron Bridge Company have any confidence in the sanctity and validity of this contract, why do they not fire their harmless paper missiles at Comptroller Meade and the judges of the State, instead of flooding our desks with their worthless paper pellets; or, better still, go on and try their case in the court?



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Now, gentlemen, I have nearly finished. When we leave here on the final adjournment of this General Assembly, most of us will never meet again ; but as you go on your daily rounds, I beg of you to remember that the member from Tolland joined hands with you ; that the little County of Tolland reached across the State and clasped hands with the brave and good men of Litchfield County and Fairfield County and New Haven County, and all the counties of the State, in establishing a policy that shall live and bear good fruits in this State long after all of us shall have been called to our final accounts.

It has been said, "To have one's name written on the pages of Gibbon is equal to having it painted in letters of gold on the dome of St. Peter's at Rome." None of us can ever have our names printed on the pages of the immortal Gibbon ; but we can have something much better, — we can have the pleasure, while living, of seeing our names recorded on the rolls of this General Assembly in favor of resolutions that shall wipe from public gaze the last vestige of an act that smells to heaven ; and the approval of our own consciences and of our constituents shall be our full reward.

## SPEECH

*Delivered on Resolution concerning Debenture  
Certificates of the New York, New Haven,  
and Hartford Railroad Company.*

MR. SPEAKER:

WE are at the dividing of the ways. Every member of this General Assembly must now stand up and be counted.

This is to me the most unpleasant duty that I have been called upon to perform during this entire session of the General Assembly. The officers and attorneys of the Consolidated Railroad Company are my intimate friends, and I would in any other matter comply with their wishes; but in this matter I differ with them so seriously, both on legal and business principles, that I should be false to myself if I did not oppose this resolution.

I have been told by officers of the railroad that I ought to vote for this resolution on account of my own interest in it; but that ought to be one reason why I should vote against it. Again, I would not vote for any resolution in this General Assembly which did not accord with my own judgment and conscience,—not even to please

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the Almighty, much less the officers of this Consolidated Railroad Company.

My objections to this resolution are as follows : —

1. I object to it on legal grounds. I think it is in clear contravention of the Tenth Section of the Constitution of the United States, "that no State shall pass any law impairing the validity of contracts." I think that the contract made by the officers and directors of the Consolidated Railroad with their own stockholders forbids the passage of this law. These debenture bonds were issued clearly on the understanding and agreement that they were to bear four per cent interest until 1903, and that at that time they should be exchangeable for stock. It was "nominated," as Shylock said, in the debenture bonds, as follows: "The holder of these certificates will be entitled to exchange the same on the first day of April, 1903, or within sixty days thereafter, and no longer, for shares of the capital stock of the company at par; if not then surrendered for exchange they will become due and payable in cash on the first day of April, 1908."

Now, to pass any act which affects the values or alters the character of those debenture bonds is, to my thinking, a fraud on the stockholders and contrary to the entire agreement. The stockholders took those debentures on the fair understanding that they were to bear only four per cent interest and be exchangeable for stock in 1903, and were

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mighty glad to get them ; and people who have bought them since have bought them on that same understanding. Many millions of dollars of these debentures have been sold by stockholders. Many people have been obliged to sell them, and they were bought by investors or speculators with the above understanding. If these debentures were to be changed in character, it is fair to presume that the stockholders would not have sold them, or if they had been bought by investors or speculators they would have brought a much larger value. They ask us to authorize them to do what they admit they have not the right to do without violating the agreement they made December 10, 1892, with their own stockholders.

Now, to pass a law adding new values to these debenture bonds and giving them new privileges not embraced in the original contract, and at the same time sacrificing the inchoate rights of the stockholders in all increase of the capital before 1903, is clearly a violation of the Constitution of the United States ; and, in my humble opinion, this act is not worth the paper it is printed upon.

A stockholder who has assigned his debentures has still an equitable interest in that contract that it shall not be so amended as to reduce the amount of stock coming to him on any increase of capital prior to 1903, and a court of equity will protect him ; and if he has not assigned his

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debentures, then no one can deny his right to have the contract of December 10, 1892, carried out to the letter.

Let me read you just a little from the "Springfield Republican": —

"The debenture bondholders of the New Haven Railroad Company have now gotten the ear of the Connecticut Legislature, and the passage by the Senate of a bill, to which Henry L. Goodwin calls attention in another column, is the result.

"These bondholders bought their paper on the express condition that their right to subscribe to the stock of the company at par would not arise until 1903. It is proposed to give them the right now; and as a consequence it is said that the bonds are quoted \$2 higher and the stock correspondingly lower. Of course a body so far at the beck and call of special interests as the Connecticut Legislature seems to be could not be expected to look favorably on a bill requiring future issues of stock of the New Haven Company to be sold at auction."

There is not a man who owns one share of the stock of this railroad but can apply either to the State or the United States courts for an injunction, and so test the validity of this ill-conceived law; and there can be but one result to that contest. Mr. H. L. Goodwin, with his little ten shares, is as powerful in our courts as Morgan G. Bulkeley with his millions. Ah, I think he is stronger, for the despised Nazarene of East Hartford has only for his guide the Constitution and the laws of the

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land, the welfare of the State, and his own clear conscience.

2. My next legal objection to this resolution is that it does not provide for its acceptance by the stockholders of the company. In every other resolution we have passed during this session amending the charter of any private corporation, it has always been conditioned that it should be accepted by the stockholders. In this resolution such a condition does not seem even to have been petitioned for, or asked for by the directors of the railroad ; but certainly the stockholders ought to be consulted before this act goes into effect.

I am not ready to-day to discuss the legality of the act on that feature,— although it ought to be law, and it certainly is justice, that no Legislature can pass an act amending the charter of a private corporation without the consent of the corporation. Every member of this General Assembly who has any investments in corporations, either in this State or others, can see how dangerous a precedent this establishes. That some man or men can come to the General Assembly and secure the passage of an amendment that shall change the whole character and purpose of the corporation without even submitting it to the approval of the stockholders, is a most monstrous proposition. Some of you own stock in companies chartered in other States, and you would very much regret to have such a rule applied to your own investments.

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3. I must object to this resolution now on business principles. The title of this bill is a misnomer, and it should read that this is an act to put unearned money to the amount of five million dollars in the pockets of a few men by a skilfully drawn private act; and most of these men are now living without the confines of the State, and rolling in fabulous wealth.

4. I think I can say truly that I represent the sentiment and opinions of nine-tenths of the serious business men of Connecticut, when I say that I am opposed to any further increase in the capital stock of this company. The present stockholders are very well satisfied with receiving eight per cent dividends and no taxes, and they are opposed to the filtering out of this stock until it becomes a six per cent investment and sells for about par. A small capital and a large surplus is the wisest management; and I appeal to the member from Norwalk and the member from Wallingford, good banking-men as they are, if I am not correct.

In discussing this matter the other day with an officer of the company, he informed me that there was only one director in the company who agreed with my ideas; but when he told me the name of that man I was proud to be in harmony with his business ideas, for he is probably the largest stockholder in the company. He is a Hartford-born man. He is the most far-seeing financier living in America to-day, and his name is familiar to

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every financier in the civilized world, — J. Pierpont Morgan. No man and no corporation thus far have ever made any mistake by following his advice on financial matters. He is opposed to any more increase in stock. He is opposed to cutting any more melons ; and he is in favor of bonding this road for these improvements at a low rate of interest, and creating a sinking fund for paying them off. And he is right. I venture to say that the Pratt and Whitney Co., the Meriden Britannia Co., Wheeler and Wilson Manufacturing Co., and the Willimantic Linen Co., would be very glad if they had less capital and more surplus.

In common with some stockholders of this road, I do not think it is good policy to talk about cutting any more melons or giving away any more stock when all the towns along the line of this road from Greenwich to Mystic, and along the Housatonic and Naugatuck roads, the Air-Line, and the main branch to Enfield, are being asked almost to pauperize themselves to help pay for abolishing its grade crossings.

Of course the great danger in having an enormous capital is that in twenty-five years a Gould or a Sage may own this road, and it will become the plaything of Wall Street, and be wrecked and robbed, as more than nine-tenths of the railroads of this country have been, either first or last ; and the poor savings-bank depositors in Connecticut, and the small Connecticut owners who thought



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they had a good investment, may live to see how it was wrecked and lost in the maelstrom of speculation and manipulation.

5. I am in favor of a law which shall provide that all future increase of the capital stock of this railroad shall be sold—the same as is provided by the law of Massachusetts—by public auction. This is the only fair way, and the only way to protect the interests of the small holders—men, women, and children—who have not the means of buying more stock; and it will surely prevent all surreptitious or underhanded ways of disposing of its capital stock.

Now, friends, you have no right to vote away the interests of the citizens of this State. You are their servants, not their masters; and this House, so far this session, has shown—thank Heaven!—that no man and no set of men can influence your votes as against the true interests of this State and especially as against the weak and powerless.

I admire the wonderful executive and constructive ability of Charles P. Clark. He has never had his equal on that railroad, and proud may he be of his work. But he will leave his work half done if he does not give to the travelling public and to the manufacturers of this State some share in the wonderful progress and wealth of this railroad,—in my opinion the grandest railroad franchise in these United States. No man can figure its future values.

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It is time to call a halt, and instead of keeping on giving to these millionaire stockholders these grand largesses, to reduce its fares and its freight charges; to insure, as is done in England, the limbs and lives of its employees, who daily risk them for a bare pittance, so that their families may have some little money in the event of accident or death.

Am I not right? I appeal to the business men of Connecticut. Yes, I know I am right, even if I must stand here alone; but I believe that you are with me.

It may be that in opposing this resolution I have signed my political death-warrant. But political death has no terrors for me. It has not much for any Democrat in these days. One day spent in climbing the Alps or on the banks of the Nile would afford me more real satisfaction than whole months spent here in this Capitol contending in what seems to me at times the almost hopeless and thankless cause of the people.

Perhaps I ought to stop here, but I wish to do justly by every one. The Consolidated Railroad Company have placed in my hand a brief, giving the reasons why they think I ought to vote for this resolution. I have read it over carefully. I am prepared to submit it to the examination of every member of this General Assembly. It states some historical facts that have no particular bearing on this question, and the only argument or

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reason advanced in that brief is embraced in one paragraph, which I will read : —

“ If the company were to offer a new issue of stock to its full stockholders only, it would interfere with the moral rights of the certificate holders, inasmuch as the stock which they would be entitled to in 1903 would not be so large a share of property as it was at the time of subscribing for these certificates.”

Now, Mr. Speaker, I beg of you that you will not smile when I speak of this argument. It would seem that the Consolidated Railroad Company were worrying day and night about the moral rights of the holders of these debenture bonds ; and after having looked this broad country over they finally settled in their minds on the Ætna Life Insurance Company and Morgan G. Bulkeley as the proper parties to come to this Legislature and present the moral claims of the debenture holders of the road. Now, please do not laugh.

I am very fond of the Speaker of this House ; and whenever I look at him I am always reminded of one of the funniest political episodes that have happened in this State in many a day, — the Bulkeley banquet. If we are correctly informed, the Speaker at that time promised to desert family, children, friends, and all the pleasures and attractions of this world, to go on a pilgrimage of one hundred and forty years with Morgan G. Bulkeley. I often think of the Speaker as he goes

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on that tramp, tired, fatigued, and footsore, and occasionally sitting down by the roadside to rest himself. Then, I imagine he says to Bulkeley: "Morgan, tell me once more, how did it happen that you came to the Legislature of 1895 to protect the moral rights of the debenture holders of the Consolidated Road?" The Speaker, after listening to the story, pats Bulkeley on the shoulder and says: "Morgan, this story grows richer and racier every time you tell it. Now I feel rested, and am ready to resume the tramp: but you must promise me that if we come across Charlie Clark of the 'Courant,' or John Porter of the 'Post,' or Senator Platt, you will tell them this story, for they will appreciate it as much as I do."

Now, I want to tell you, gentlemen, a little true story about the origin of this bill; and you will remember my story long after you have forgotten my good friend from Milford, with his carroty hair and speckled face, and long after you have forgotten the magnificent mien of the member from Stratford, with a head full of political tricks. You will often tell this story to your wives and children, and every time you tell it you will enjoy it the more.

One cold, bleak, dreary day last January, Morgan G. Bulkeley left the Ætna Life Insurance Company's building, buttoning up his coat, with this little bill in his pocket, to protect the moral rights of the debenture holders of the Con-

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solidated Railroad, and started for the Capitol. On his way up Capitol Hill he met Joseph L. Barbour, — you all know him, and many of us love him, although we do not like his politics. He said to Bulkeley, "What are you going up to the Capitol for, to-day, Morgan?" Bulkeley shook his head and said, "I am going up to the Capitol to vindicate the moral rights of the debenture holders of the Consolidated Railroad." Joe burst out in one grand laugh, — that infectious laugh so many of us have enjoyed, — and, with tears rolling down his cheeks, he finally got his breath, and looking Morgan in the face, he said, "Oh, Morg., come off there!"

Now, gentlemen, to be serious, there is but one thing to do with this bill, be you friend or foe of the Consolidated Railroad, and that is to vote that it should be indefinitely postponed. In voting indefinitely to postpone this bill, in my humble opinion, you are voting for your conscience and your country, and I believe in the end for the best interests of the railroad.

## EXTRACTS OF SPEECH

*On the Connecticut River Navigation.*  
(1866)

MR. SPEAKER AND MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF  
REPRESENTATIVES :

I HAVE refrained from saying much during this session of the Legislature, and it is with hesitation that I rise to-day to trespass upon the time and attention of the House ; but I should be false to the people whose feeble representative I am, if I did not rise in my place in this House and offer my humble but solemn protest against the adoption of this monstrous outrage upon their rights and interests. Fortunately or unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, they have certain dear rights and interests as well as this railroad company, whose visionary project has been many times sunk into the grave, and as many times its skeleton dragged out by ambitious speculators in the people's franchises.

Two hundred and odd years ago, where now stands the city of Hartford, was a wild and trackless wilderness. Two hundred and thirty years ago the Connecticut River valley was inhabited by the wild and untutored Indian. Two hundred and thirty years have rolled away, and where there

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was only a wilderness now stands the fair and queenly city of Hartford, one of the proudest jewels in this Commonwealth of ours. Two hundred and thirty years have rolled away, and the Connecticut River valley, then inhabited by the savage Indian only, has become the home of a hundred and fifty thousand souls, and blossoms with all the products of a commercial, a manufacturing, and an agricultural life. What, I ask, Mr. Speaker, has made this wonderful change, except it be the free navigation of the Connecticut River? What led your ancestors — what led Hooker and his comrades — to settle along the Connecticut River valley, except it was the belief that this river would forever afford an easy and cheap communication through which they might send out the products of their industry to the four quarters of the globe, and receive back in return the commerce of mankind?

The petitioners ask leave of this Legislature to construct a railroad from Willimantic to New Haven, with the right to bridge the Connecticut River at Middletown, a point thirty miles from the mouth of the river and twenty miles from the head of navigation, — thereby blocking up and destroying this great source of the wealth and prosperity of the interior and northern sections of the State. Although in my judgment, Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, it has not been shown by the petitioners that the wants, the business, or the convenience of

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the people along the line of the proposed road warrants this Legislature in granting the prayer of the petitioners, there is no opposition to chartering their road if they will abandon their drawbridge scheme and build their bridge just below the city of Middletown, where Nature, by narrowing the river and making huge rocky shoulders of its banks, has provided seemingly for this very enterprise. There build your road, gentlemen, and we wish you success. Only leave open this great artery of communication which connects us with the whole world; leave free to all comers this great natural thoroughfare, whose capacities for transporting freight excel those of all the railroads in the State, and which now enable us to defy all possible railroad monopolies.

Now, if the wants and necessities of the people along this proposed road authorize the Legislature in chartering the Air-Line road, then they warrant us in chartering it by the route of the Straits alone. The interests of the people one mile east or west of the river will be as completely subserved, and the country to be traversed by this road as fully benefited, by the suspension bridge as by the drawbridge route—the city of Middletown and the town of Portland alone suffering any inconveniences from the bridge across the Straits. Now, I ask, gentlemen, if the prosperity of every town for miles to the right and left of the river above Middletown, if the vast interests of the city of Hartford and the



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thriving towns around, are to be jeopardized and sacrificed because Middletown is to be less accommodated by a suspension bridge than by a draw-bridge? It is said that the road cannot be built by the suspension route, by reason of the additional expenditure of money requisite to build the bridge. Then, gentlemen, there is not business or necessity enough to warrant this Legislature in chartering their road at all. But I apprehend that the suspension bridge is not a fatal obstacle to the building of the Air-Line road. One of the principal witnesses before the committee, Mr. Hubbard, a petitioner and resident of Middletown, admitted frankly that they wanted a railroad, with a drawbridge, if possible, — if not, with a suspension bridge. Grant the petition of the Air-Line road, let that drawbridge be built, and it will be the stepping-stone to the erection of other bridges. Pressing closely upon the heels of this Air-Line petition comes the petition of the Shore Line for a bridge at the mouth of the river; and no legislator can with much consistency vote for the bridge at Middletown, and not for one at the mouth of the river; and by building these bridges you drive every timber of shipping from the Connecticut River, the noblest river in New England.

The friends of the bridge, in their enthusiastic moments, claim that the draw can be so managed as not to interfere with the navigation of the river. If one draw can be so managed, so can a hundred;

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and you might roof the river over with bridges without affecting its navigation ! Now, is any man so big a fool as to believe it? Do they believe it themselves, when they say that this bridge will make Middletown and Portland the head of river navigation? Prominent among the petitioners are men from the city of Middletown, who in the last session of the Legislature strongly opposed the erection of a bridge at the mouth of the river, because of its disastrous consequences to the navigation of the river. Mark you, gentlemen, the bridge was to be located below Middletown then, above it now. Can any sane man say in the face of the irresistible and overwhelming proof on this subject before the committee, that a drawbridge is not fatal to the navigation of the river? If drawbridges are not ruinous to navigation, why does the Steamboat Company, year after year, when this project of bridging the river is brought before the Legislature, make such herculean efforts in opposition to it? Why do the owners of every vessel upon the river that will have to pass through this draw, and why does this city of Hartford, make similar exertions? Why do petitions from towns throughout the interior and northern sections of the State come deluging this Legislature remonstrating against the bridging of the river? Is it because they are hostile to the Air-Line road? Not so.

Nearly all the witnesses before the Committee introduced by the petitioners have themselves ad-

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mitted that the draw will be an impediment to the navigation of the river. Some of them admit that it might be a serious obstacle. On the other hand, a large number of captains and masters of sailing-vessels, men who have learned from a life-long experience something of the difficulties and embarrassments incident to river navigation; men who are behind no other class of men in the improvements of the age, and whom practical legislators will prefer to listen to on this subject rather than to railroad managers or lobbyists or manufacturers who know nothing of navigation,—these men have come here and sworn that this draw will be a serious if not a fatal obstacle to the navigation of the river. Many thousand passages are to be made through this draw every year, some of them in the night season, some of them in storms and floods. The vessel must feel its way along, oftentimes lie by until morning, or until the storm has abated and the floods have ceased, and then a sailing-vessel must beat its way up and down through this draw. Why all this delay, this extra hazard, this expense? Because, gentlemen, at the city of Middletown the station will be located a mile nearer the centre of the town by the drawbridge route than it would be by the route of the suspension bridge! The friends of the drawbridge try to excuse this monstrous scheme by showing that there are already obstructions to navigation in the river,—that there are narrow

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channels, short curves, and bends ; and still they have the hardihood and audacity to come here and ask this General Assembly to add another and far more formidable barrier to the river navigation !

The petitioners come here and ask this Legislature for the privilege of bridging the Connecticut River, which from time immemorial has never been bridged below the head of navigation ; to sacrifice the interests of one section of this State to benefit the interests of another and far lesser section. On the other hand, the opponents of this draw do not come here to oppose the building of this road, or to ask this Legislature to enact any law to benefit them to the detriment of any other section of this State. They simply ask that those rights which they and their fathers before them for more than two hundred years have enjoyed shall not be taken from them.

The navigation of this river has regulated and cheapened the price of freight for miles in every direction from it. Add another and an almost impassable obstruction to its navigation, — increase the price of freights, if you please, — and you have put another lever in the hands of the railroad interests, and dealt a serious blow to the manufacturing, the trading, and the agricultural interests of the State. You may think it a very pleasant thing to vote away the prosperity and the privileges of this section of the State ; but some day or other there will appear some other great grasping cor-

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poration that will seek to suck the life-blood out of your section of the State. The Shore-Line road, now joining hands with the Air-Line road in this attempt to build a draw at Middletown, may receive the aid of the Air-Line in return, and by like bargaining secure the co-operation of other roads, and ask of this Legislature permission to bridge the Thames.

If this General Assembly shall decide in favor of bridging the Connecticut River at Middletown, and that bridge shall ever be built, and then it shall be shown by unfortunate experience to be a mighty impediment to the navigation of the river, and shall drive from it every vestige of its once glorious commerce, there will be no remedy. It will have to stand there, a monument of the folly and wickedness of the General Assembly of 1864.

It is for you to say, gentlemen, whether that bridge shall be built or not. From your decision the people whose rights and interests are at stake have no appeal. If you shall have sacrificed them, gentlemen, then they can only pray Almighty God to send a raging, roaring flood, which shall carry off in its seething bosom every relic of the Golgotha erected by the General Assembly of Connecticut to mark the limit of the free navigation of the Connecticut River.

## AGE OF CONSENT

MR. SPEAKER :

I HESITATE to say anything in this matter. This is a question which a woman like Mrs. Isabella Hooker — daughter of a New England clergyman of world-wide fame, sister of one of America's most illustrious sons, and wife of one of Hartford's first citizens — can talk to you about better than any member of this General Assembly. But she is not here, and no woman is here to voice the sentiments of her sex. So I will briefly explain why I am in favor of raising the age of consent to eighteen years.

If you will take the pains to ask any clergyman, Protestant or Catholic, or any physician, — those men who go down where sorrow and sadness and sickness dwell, — he will tell you that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, where the first wrong has been committed, the woman is the innocent party.

I know no sight more sad, no fate more heart-rending, than to see a young man or a young woman who has sacrificed and thrown away all prospects of an honorable future life. A prominent

## AGE OF CONSENT

clergyman of this city remarked to me only a day or so ago that he hardly ever knew an instance where the persons were of nearly equal age but that the man was willing to redress the wrong by marrying the woman, and thereby saving her honor and her self-respect.

I was talking on this subject only a day or so ago with the editor of the "Hartford Times," who has crowned eighty years of a useful and honorable life largely devoted to the discussion of matters of public interest ; and he remarked that a woman of fourteen hardly knew her own mind ; that eighteen was better as the age of consent, and that it ought in his opinion to be twenty-one years. It is pretty safe in Connecticut, be you Republican or Democrat, to listen to the advice on matters relating to the improvement and elevation of society of that noble citizen and good man, Hon. Alfred E. Burr.

Since making our report, the Legislature of Massachusetts has passed a bill making eighteen years the age of consent. That age now is the prevailing one in most of the progressive and enlightened States of the Union. I hope Connecticut will not be behind her sister States.

We have been here four long months, passing laws for the benefit of the men of Connecticut ; but not one Act have we passed for the benefit of the woman of this State. I beg of you to pass this bill in the interests of innocent womanhood, and I promise you that you shall never regret your action.

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*Minority Report from Judiciary Committee on  
House Bill No. 315.*

The minority of the Committee on the Judiciary submit the following reasons for their report in favor of making the age of consent eighteen years :

1. The main object of all legislation should be the protection of the young, the innocent, and the weak. No average woman under the age of eighteen years has either the knowledge or the power of will that puts her on an equality with her seducer, be he man or boy. But the boy will marry her, and thereby save her honor ; while the man will cast her off, regardless of her fate, and of all the terrible consequences that await her imprudence.

2. All legislation should be consistent ; and while it is a criminal offence for a clergyman to marry a woman under the age of twenty-one years without the consent of her parents, and while it is impossible for any woman to deed her property or to transact any lawful business under the age of twenty-one years, how much less competent is she to act in matters that involve her peace and happiness for life, and, if she makes a mistake, where disgrace and sorrow attend her to her dying day.

3. The legislation of the last fifty years both in America and in Europe has been gradually raising the age of consent, and we believe eventually it will be twenty-one years in all Christian countries.



## AGE OF CONSENT

In two States, Wyoming and Kansas, the age now is eighteen years (and we understand that the States of New York, Colorado, Delaware, New Hampshire, and Missouri have this winter passed laws making the age of consent eighteen years) ; and below we give the list of States, showing the limit at which legislators have placed the age at which young girls may consent to their ruin, prior to this year : —

*Seven Years*, — Delaware.

*Ten Years*, — Alabama, North Carolina, South Carolina.

*Twelve Years*, — Kentucky, Louisiana, Texas, Wisconsin, Virginia.

*Thirteen Years*, — Iowa, New Hampshire, Utah.

*Fourteen Years*, — Arizona, California, Connecticut, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Vermont, West Virginia.

*Fifteen Years*, — Montana.

*Sixteen Years*, — Arkansas, Colorado, District of Columbia, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Washington.

*Seventeen Years*, — Florida.

We regret that Connecticut does not occupy a better position in this list.

Respectfully submitted,

RATCLIFFE HICKS.

GEO. H. COWELL.

## A. P. A. RESOLUTION

**MR. SPEAKER :**

I NOTICE in the Journal that the Resolution is on the table by my motion. Now, I propose to move to take that Resolution from the table, and then will move to refer it to the Committee on Federal Relations. I do this for the purpose of disposing finally of this matter; and if the House see fit indefinitely to postpone the Resolution, I cannot seriously object to it. However, I should think the proper reference to be to the Committee on Federal Relations.

This Committee dates back as far as the origin of the Constitution of the State, and was evidently contemplated as a Committee to which should be referred all matters having a political bearing. I think there has been no matter of any kind referred to this Committee this year, and it would seem as if it were almost a matter of respect to the Committee that something should be referred to them. It is no honor to put a man on a Committee which never meets once during the entire session.

## A. P. A. RESOLUTION

If this resolution does not agree with the sentiment of this House, this Committee can prepare a suitable Resolution that will agree with the sentiment of the majority of this General Assembly.

Now, I did not introduce this Resolution, and I am not the father of it ; but it was introduced by a worthy member of this General Assembly, and I believe that in the main it expresses the sentiment of the vast majority of the people of the State of Connecticut.

This Resolution, as I understand it, is aimed at an organization whose almost sole object is to prevent the election to any office of any man who is unfortunate enough to belong to the Catholic Church. Now, I take it that the members of this General Assembly are opposed to all secret political organizations, whether you call them Anarchists, Ku-klux, Know-nothings, or A. P. A.'s. The welfare and preservation of American institutions depend upon a free and open discussion of all political matters ; and the establishment, either in the North or the South, in the East or in the West, of secret political societies is dangerous to the perpetuation of American institutions, and in my humble opinion is the quickest way to sap the foundations of the Republic.

I am determined not to become involved in any discussion with any member of this General Assembly upon matters of politics or religion. I respect

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the opinion of every member, and expect every member to respect mine.

I am anxious to have this matter taken from the table, and disposed of in some orderly way; and therefore I make this motion, and leave it to the members of the General Assembly to decide what action they wish to take.

## A QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE

MR. SPEAKER :

I RISE to a matter of personal privilege.

I read in the "Hartford Courant" this morning what purports to be an abstract of a debate which took place in this House yesterday. In it I am made to say that certain lawyers, whose names are given, are disreputable lawyers.

The House will bear me witness that what I did say, and all that I said, was that "I do not believe there is a reputable lawyer in Connecticut, excepting the member from Putnam, who favors the Moiety system in dealing with criminals." I believed then, and I believe now, that in opposing that section of the bill establishing the Law and Order League, I was voicing the nearly unanimous sentiment of the legal fraternity of this State. For my action here yesterday I have been repeatedly thanked by the officers of this League; and I am sure that this obnoxious provision would, in the end, have brought the League into public contempt and disgrace.

I have ever accorded to the member from Putnam and to the reporter of the "Hartford Courant"

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that kind and courteous treatment which one gentleman should extend to another.

I regret that such an unfair and unjust representation—or more properly such a misrepresentation—of what I did say should go forth to the people of this State, and I can do no less than humbly to protest against the same.

## ON THE DEATH OF FRED- ERICK DOUGLAS

MR. SPEAKER :

It seems fitting that this General Assembly, representing as it does the sovereign State of Connecticut, should pause for a moment, and pay this tribute of respect to the memory of a good and great man who has passed away. It seems also not altogether inappropriate that it should be ~~rep-~~  
~~presented~~ by a member of a party to which he never belonged.

Frederick Douglas, however, was always ~~of~~ <sup>of himself</sup> an honorable ~~person~~, and was too great a man to wear with patience the shackles of any party. Whenever the acts of his own party did not accord with his conscience and judgment, he had the courage and the manhood to say so; and whenever the acts of the Democratic party accorded with his judgment, he had also the courage and the manhood to give them his approval.

Since the earliest settlement of this country, no man has ever arisen whose life and career are a greater incentive to all young men struggling for a position in the world. Born in slavery and

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abject poverty, and of a hated race, he rose by his own untiring efforts and commanding genius. He became a leader among leaders, and the representative man of his race for all ages. He filled two Continents with his greatness. Presidents and nobles vied with one another in doing him honor, and were proud of his acquaintance and friendship.

Brass may corrode, and marble may mould, but the name of Frederick Douglas will live forever in American history, — a heroic man in a heroic age.



## EXTRACTS FROM A SPEECH

*Delivered before the Committee of the Legislature  
in New Haven, in 1875, in favor of the Char-  
ter of the Dime Savings-Bank of Meriden.*

BUT the city of Meriden is only in the gristle of its youth, not having yet grown into the bone and muscle of its manhood. It is not an old man tottering to his grave; it is but an infant just learning to walk.

Meriden has a glorious future before it. If Providence shall spare your lives for five, ten, or fifteen years, you will see that the progress of Meriden in the past will be as nothing compared with its progress in the future now just dawning upon us; and among the institutions which the best interests of Meriden to-day demand, and which its future growth will imperatively call for, is that institution which these petitioners pray for at your hands, a Dime Savings-Bank, — an institution which if chartered will be one more stream of business which, with a hundred other streams, will make that great river of business on which Meriden is to float on to its future prosperity.

## LAST SPEECH IN THE ASSEMBLY (1895)

MR. SPEAKER :

It is a great pleasure that I am permitted to be present at the closing hours of this General Assembly, and to contribute my mite of praise <sup>to you</sup> for the able and courteous manner with which you have presided over the proceedings of this House during this session. You have won for yourself the praise and the commendation of political friends and foes alike, and well may you be proud of your extraordinary success.

The session which is about to close will mark an epoch in the history of this State. Never within my knowledge has so much wise and beneficent legislation been adopted at one session of the General Assembly since this State first took its position among and linked its destinies with the great sisterhood of States. Some errors may have been made, some mistakes that time and experience will modify or eradicate ; some things have been done that ought not to have been done, and some things have been left undone that ought to have been done. I fear, sir, there has been a

## LAST SPEECH IN THE ASSEMBLY

wild and wanton expenditure of the public money ; that we have not cut our garment to our cloth ; and that when in two years another General Assembly shall meet in these halls, instead of finding, as we did, a surplus of \$500,000, they will find the surplus has vanished, and that a State tax can be no longer evaded even for political reasons.

I rejoice to think that much more could have been accomplished for the welfare and the honor of this State had it not been for the other branch of this Legislature. The slogan of future political contests in Connecticut is to be the reform and remodelling of that unrepresentative political oligarchy that sits in the Senate Chamber,—the pride and the hope, as now constituted, of the corporate interests of this State, and the enemy of the welfare and progress of the Commonwealth we all love so much. I have not the time, and this is not the place, to describe and enumerate the wise and healthful legislation which has been either mutilated or strangled in that Chamber. Another time and another place we will try to find for this work. Yet I am not disheartened. This great constitutional wrong will be righted by the people of Connecticut, and soon righted, sir. I have faith in the intelligence of the American voter.

At a gathering of the most illustrious literary men of the British Empire a few years ago, held in the city of London, a renowned French savant was asked to give a toast. He rose, and in the

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presence of that brilliant assembly, in the presence of lords and nobles, an hereditary aristocracy, and in that monarchical country, he gave this toast: "I ask you to drink to human intelligence, the sovereign of the world!" Much more, I repeat, is human intelligence a sovereign in this American Republic than in any other land on which the sun shines.

Now, gentlemen, pardon me for having taken so much of your time. I carry away with me from this gathering some of the pleasantest memories of my life. The acquaintances and friendships formed here during this session of the General Assembly will be cherished by me until my dying day. To you, sir, especially and to all the members of this House, I return my most sincere and heartfelt thanks for all the kindness and courtesy extended to me during this session; and I now bid you, one and all, a most affectionate farewell.

## MISCELLANEOUS ADDRESSES



## SPEECH

*Of Ratcliffe Hicks in reply to Gen. Joseph R. Hawley, delivered at Meriden, October 2, 1880.*

I HOLD in my hand a Republican paper which contains the speech that Hon. Joseph R. Hawley is delivering in the various towns in this State in the pending canvass. The Republican party in Connecticut is proud of Joseph R. Hawley, and justly so, I think ; for to my thinking he is by far the ablest representative of that party in the State.

In times past General Hawley has done some things which endear him to all intelligent voters. During the administration of Ulysses Grant, when crime held high carnival in Washington, he dared to stand up, alone and unfriended, on the floor of the American Congress, sacrificing every personal and political ambition and association of his life, and say, "I am coming to a time, now, when I must seriously consider whether I shall go on with some of my radical friends." Further on he said that the proposed legislation of the Republican party would end in "creating a centralized gov-

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ernment upon the ruins of the original theory of the republic ; and it might be in the end, I fear, the destruction, the final failure of this experiment of free government."

After the election of 1876, Ulysses Grant, in order to effect the Presidential steal and rob the Democratic party of their victory, sent into the Southern States a large number of active and unscrupulous Republican leaders ; but he did not send General Hawley, for he dared not trust him in the nasty work that was to be done.

In the following year, when Mr. Hayes was confronted with two governments in Louisiana, and was desirous of knowing which he ought to recognize, he sent a commission to that State, of which General Hawley was a member. That commission, after fully investigating all the facts in the case, unanimously reported in favor of recognizing the Nichols (or the Democratic) government. Nichols was voted for at the Presidential election of 1876, and had really about seven hundred votes less than the Democratic Presidential electors. No Democrat in the land needs any further proof that the electoral vote of Louisiana was stolen from Tilden and Hendricks.

During the past summer, by word of mouth and through the columns of his paper, General Hawley has resolutely contended against the nomination of the unscrupulous Blaine and the manikin Grant, always contending that it was better for the Re-



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publican party to nominate its ablest and purest men.

I shall to-night give my answer to General Hawley's address, and the intelligent voters of Connecticut shall be the jury, and decide between us. I shall say nothing here to-night that I would not say if General Hawley were sitting upon this platform. I trust that the day has not yet arrived in American politics when men cannot discuss politics and still be gentlemen. When that day does come, I want to be counted out of politics. I regard General Hawley's speech as the strongest representation that can be made of the Republican cause in this canvass, and therefore it is that I invite your serious attention to what I have to say.

General Hawley commences his address by claiming "that the Republican party has reduced the national debt a thousand millions of dollars." In that he is mistaken. The national debt in 1865 was \$2,680,647,869, and in 1879 it was \$2,245,495,072, — making a reduction of \$435,151,797. But General Hawley forgot to state that the people have paid in the last fifteen years in taxes to the national government the fabulous sum of \$5,170,332,042; and for all this immense contribution by the people there is nothing practically to show for it except this reduction in the national debt of about \$400,000,000. You have paid enough in taxes in the last fifteen

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years to pay off the entire national debt twice. You have paid \$12 to get \$1 reduction in the national debt. At the same ratio the youngest voter in America will have passed to his final reward, and the people will have paid the debt twelve times before it will be extinguished. In other words, on a basis of fifty millions of people, every man who has a wife and four children would pay in taxes the sum of about \$5,000 in order to pay off the national debt. On the basis of forty millions of people, every man with a wife and four children has paid on the average to the national government in taxes, in the last fifteen years, the sum of about \$720. Do you wonder, then, that it is hard work for a poor man to get up in the world; and do you not think that it is almost time for a change?

Again, the national debt was, in 1872, \$2,234-482,993.20, and in 1879 it was \$2,245,495,072; so that the debt has increased in the last six years \$11,013,079. Perhaps General Hawley can tell you how long it will take to pay off the debt at the same ratio. No other man can tell you. Is this not a pretty poor encouragement after all the taxes you have paid?

Again, General Hawley forgot to tell you that the entire expenditures of the national government for the seventy-two years prior to 1860, including two wars, was \$1,506,706,141, and that the expenses of fifteen years of Republican rule since the war have been \$5,170,332,042; so that in fifteen

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years the Republicans have spent \$3,663,625,901 more than was spent in the seventy-two years previous to the war.

Look at it in another way. The people of America pay annually as interest upon our national and municipal debts, in round numbers, \$182,000,000. The people of the British Empire pay on the same debts annually \$135,000,000. Yet America is poor in comparison with the wealth of the British Empire. The revenue of the British government is about \$400,000,000, and the amount raised for local purposes is about \$104,337,000, — so that the whole cost of governing the British Empire is \$504,437,000 a year ; while the revenue of the United States is about \$260,000,000, and the amount raised for local purposes is about \$330,000,000, — so that the whole cost of governing the United States is \$590,000,000 against \$504,337,000 in Great Britain. And yet the British government supports in magnificent idleness a royal family, maintains a great standing army of over two hundred thousand soldiers, possesses the finest navy in the world, and plants colonies and sustains governments in all the four quarters of the globe.

A man who has a wife and four children, which is about the average size of families (of course some pay more and some less, I am now speaking of the average), pays annually in taxes — national, State, and town in America — over \$700. The annual expenditure of the United States govern-

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ment is per head \$6.13 ; of the German, \$3.15 ; and of the Russian, \$4.83.

Under the rule of this Republican party, remember, my friends, that the rich grow richer, and the poor grow poorer. The population of the United States since the Republican party came into power has increased about fifty per cent, while taxation has increased six hundred per cent. What poor man on a bare pittance of \$1.25 or \$1.50 a day can lay by anything for a stormy day? The work-man is now just barely able to keep the wolf from his door. Nowhere do I see any houses being erected by working-men. If we had not been blessed above all other countries in our national resources, the American people would long since have been bankrupt. But sooner or later, if there is no change, the masses I fear will tire of such enormous burdens, and a political eruption will destroy the government under which we are living.

Let me impress this matter upon your memory. Let me illustrate it to you in another way. There is no need crying over the wrongs of distant people ; there is serious and solemn business at home for every thoughtful American voter.

Suppose a laboring man earns \$1.50 a day (which is the average wages) ; and suppose that out of it, after supporting himself and family, he can lay by \$2 a week. He cannot do more than that. Now, if there are six in the family, he

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pays in annually to the national government \$36 ; so that it takes all he can save in four and a half months to keep up this extravagant and costly Republican administration.

One hundred and fifteen men came over from England last summer to work in a cutlery factory at Bridgeport, and all but twenty-five have returned, as they could save more money there than here.

Let no man deceive himself with the thought that he pays no taxes ; for everything that a man eats or wears pays a tax to the government. Some people are so foolish as to say that the poor man pays no taxes ; but he is the only man that cannot escape taxation, the only man that pays his full taxes. He must live and he must be clothed, and so there is no escape for him from taxation ; but the rich man may hide away his property, or if he is a merchant he adds the tax to the price of his goods. The same is true of the manufacturer. The rich man in order to pay his taxes is not obliged to sacrifice any of his luxuries ; but the poor man is obliged to deprive himself, his wife and children, of many of the common necessities of life.

I appeal to every man, rich and poor, white and black, native and foreign born ! If you are satisfied with the way the government has been administered during the past fifteen years, you will continue to vote the Republican ticket. Remember, however, my wealthy manufacturing friend,

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that when the government crushes the working-man it destroys your best customer ; for it is upon the trade of the masses of the country that all business finally depends. And I appeal with confidence to all men who are tired of this unparalleled extravagance and wild riot with the people's money, to vote in November next with the only party that promises a change for the better,—the poor man's party, the Democratic party.

Again, General Hawley said in that speech : "I belong to a party that struck the chains from three millions of slaves." This is about all the stock in trade that the Republican party has had for the last twenty years. But I pronounce the statement untrue. Show me, in any standard history of this country, where such a fact is recorded. No historian has ever yet dared to go down to posterity upon such a falsification of the facts. Such a fact finds root only in the heated imaginations of Republican orators.

Every man in the Republican party, from President Lincoln down to the humblest tide-waiter, declared that the War of the Rebellion was only waged for the perpetuity of the Union, and that the relation of master and slave should not be disturbed. In the darkest hours of the Rebellion, when it seemed as if the cause of the Union must go down in midnight darkness, some of our generals — General Butler among others — advocated

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the enlistment of the colored men into our armies. The suggestion was approved by the authorities at Washington as a last military resort, as building a fire in the enemy's rear ; and the end crowned the means. The colored soldier became an American citizen, and history records upon its truthful pages that freedom came to the colored man as a result of the war.

But if General Hawley thinks otherwise, was there not some better way than to have sacrificed half a million of precious human lives and caused untold misery to a million bleeding hearts, and squandered five thousand millions of dollars, and mortgaged the industry of four generations? Would it not have been better to purchase the freedom of the slaves? You could have bought the freedom of every slave in America, and planted him on African soil, for one half the money you spent to free him, and you would have saved so many precious lives and so much misery.

The trouble with General Hawley's logic is that he strikes from the universe a living, loving God ; that he leaves nothing for God to do in this fallen world ; that he closes his eyes to a divine providence which presides over the affairs of nations as well as of men, and that

"shapes our ends,  
Rough-hew them how we will."

In the place of a beneficent God he wishes to install the Republican party, and to that party the

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colored man is to hold himself indebted for all the good of this life. Other men may do as they please ; but were I a colored man, I would rather hold my liberty as a heritage from divine Providence ; I would rather worship at the shrine of the ever-living God than bow down to any false image, to any golden calf, though it may have written upon it those talismanic words, "The Republican party."

Again, General Hawley said that he was surprised to see so many of the men who were coming to this country cling to the Democratic party. What other party can they cling to? What other party bids them welcome to these Western shores? What other party has been their unflinching friend through all the changes of American politics, from the foundation of the government down to the present hour? What party is it that carries its puritanical notions so far that it would make criminals of three millions of our citizens—the most industrious, the most peaceful, and the most valuable—because they see no harm in the use of lager beer as a beverage, while intelligent physicians are daily prescribing it to weak women and sickly children?

It was the Democratic party which in 1804 repealed the odious law passed by the Federal party requiring fourteen years' residence before an alien could become a citizen. It was the Demo-



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cratic party which furnished to the world that famous doctrine which has been the shield and protection of so many of our foreign-born citizens, — “Once an American citizen always an American citizen,” — which has made it safe for them to revisit the homes of their ancestry. It was the Democratic party which strangled the bastard and fiendish organization — born of the worst passions of the human heart — which in 1855 burnt the houses of those noble women, the Sisters of Charity, who for centuries have spent their lives ministering to the wants of the poor and the sick and the unfortunate of every race and clime; the organization which attempted at the same time to shut out from the privilege of American citizenship all foreigners, and which found its advocate and organ in General Hawley’s paper, the “Hartford Courant.”

That spirit is not dead, but only slumbers; and it but needs some rallying cause to break forth anew. There is an organization in existence now known as the American Alliance, and one of its principles is as follows. Listen, my fellow-men, while I read you the infamous declaration: —

“1. An amendment to the naturalization laws limiting suffrage to persons born in this country or of American parents.

“2. The election of American-born citizens only to official positions in this country.”

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The present Republican President in America is a member of that organization. That I may not misquote him, let me read you his own words, and let no lover of his country forget them : —

I have just received your letter informing me of my election as a member of your admirable Alliance. Return my thanks to the Alliance, as I deeply sympathize with its principles.

I remain your fellow-citizen, R. B. HAYES.

To-day, in a New England State, — Rhode Island, — a foreigner cannot vote unless he owns \$134 worth of property ; while the most illiterate and degraded negro, if he happens to have been born on American soil, can enjoy the privileges of citizenship. General Hawley and his political associates have not yet learned that a man so unfortunate as to have been born on the other side of the broad Atlantic is as good as a colored man born here. And still General Hawley pretends to wonder why foreigners cling to the Democratic party.

It was foreigners that planted the American colonies ; it was foreigners that enabled us to win the battles of the Revolution ; it was foreigners that saved the Union ; it is foreigners that run our factories, that till our soil, that work our mines ; it is foreigners that have kept America in the vanguard of nations for the last one hundred years. And still if you were to go out with me to-night into

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the streets of this thriving city of Meriden, and ask every Republican whom we should meet why he was not a Democrat, nine out of every ten would give the woman's argument, "Because it is not respectable to be a Democrat, as all the foreigners belong to the Democratic party." If you could have gone back with me through nineteen centuries, and we could have together traversed the narrow stony streets of Jerusalem, and could have asked the proud Jew why he was not a Christian, he would have told us because it was not respectable to be a follower of the meek and lowly Jesus; that only poor and illiterate people belonged to the disciples of the risen Lord. But the time came, as you know, when the proud Jew was an outcast in every country of the inhabited globe, and a beggar at every court in Europe.

Oh, my delicately clad proud son of Yankee sires, beware lest the day may come when your children will lag behind in the race of life with the descendants of the despised foreigner! The God of the Universe moves in a mysterious way, and his love encircles alike the pathway of the poor and the contemned, of the alien as well as that of his proud Republican neighbor.

Again, General Hawley says that "the Democratic party is similar to the Tory or Conservative party in England," and he asked our foreign-born voters to look into this matter and think it over

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carefully. Ah, General Hawley, you either read English history wrongly, or your memory fails you. It is the Liberal party in England which has extended the suffrage to the poor; which has passed the burial act so that any clergyman may perform the funeral rites in the churchyards of the established Church; which has passed an act so that the Catholics of Ireland are no longer compelled to support a hostile church; which has passed the hare and rabbit bill, the employer's liability act, and many other acts in the interest of the laboring classes.

How has it been in America? It was the Democratic party which crushed the Society of Cincinnati in its effort to establish an hereditary aristocracy in this country. It was the Democratic party in Connecticut which in 1818 wiped out the provision in the Constitution which compelled every man to contribute to the support of the Congregational Church. It was the Democrats who repealed the law once upon our statute books that no foreigner should own any land in this State. It was the Democratic party which in 1843 repealed the provision of our Constitution that every voter should hold property, and gave the suffrage to the poor man. It is to a Democratic governor of this State that you owe the law which provides an exemption of a certain portion of the wages of the working-man. That Democratic governor was none other than that good man who sleeps so peacefully

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to-night beneath the autumn leaves, your own dearly loved and highly honored fellow-citizen,—his name is dear to every Connecticut heart,—Thomas H. Seymour. It was the Democratic convention in this State which two years ago pledged itself in favor of the repeal of the factorizing process, and in favor of a homestead exemption,—two things dear to the heart of the working-man. It is to a Democratic governor of this State that you owe more than to any other man living the establishment of free schools in Connecticut, so that the poorest man in the community may give his children the benefits of an education. That man is your standard-bearer in this coming contest. Need I mention his name? It is the Hon. James E. English.

The Republicans say they passed the homestead act for the working-man. But just as soon as they had passed that law, they gave away to rotten corporations two hundred million acres of the best land, and compelled settlers to pay two prices for it. With the single exception of the homestead act, which is of no benefit to the poor people of Connecticut, there has not been a single act passed in the last one hundred years in America in the interest of the working-man that has not been passed by the Democratic party.

Again, General Hawley says, "the Republicans prosecuted the war to a successful close."

Here again I would rather have the facts than

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General Hawley's statement. Listen while I read these to you : —

States.	Union Volunteers.	Total Vote, 1860.	Rep. Vote, 1860.
Delaware	13,654	16,039	3,815
Maryland	49,700	92,562	2,214
W. Virginia	33,063	34,192	464
Missouri	108,773	165,508	17,128
Kentucky	78,540	146,216	1,364
Totals	282,608	464,467	24,965

Does it look as if nobody but Republicans went to the war? New York State — a Democratic State with a Democratic governor — sent two-fifths of all the soldiers in the Union army.

When the Democratic soldiers were at the war fighting and the Republicans were home making money, the Republicans always carried the elections ; but when the war was over and the soldiers came home, we carried Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and many other Northern States.

There was not one Union victory won in the War of the Rebellion without the aid of Democratic soldiers. There was not one bloody field of all that dreadful carnage where Democratic soldiers were not to be found fighting for the Union. And in the darkest hours of the Rebellion, when the fate of the North hung trembling in the balance, and all the world awaited anxiously the issue of the contest at Gettysburg, one man, the hero of the hour, rode

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up and down the Union lines, and nerved every heart to victory. As a Union soldier in Meriden, who was on his body-guard, described it to me the other day, in the fiercest of the battle that man's horse was shot under him, when he rose, took off the bridle, leaned over and kissed the dying beast, leaped upon the horse of his aid, and rushed on to the front of the battle. That man is your standard-bearer, the idol of American soldiers,—Winfield Scott Hancock.

Republican papers and Republican orators are trying to injure the military reputation of General Hancock. They know no other way of destroying his estimation with the American people. But my only answer to all their foolish gibberings is this: that honors won on the bloody fields of battle and recorded on the pages of the world's history cannot be injured by the childish prattle of disappointed stay-at-home Republican politicians.

Again, General Hawley claims "as one of the achievements of the Republican party the putting of the ballot into the hands of every adult man."

I have just shown you how groundless this claim is when tried by the test of history. I have shown you how the poor man of this country owes his privileges of suffrage to the Democratic party. I have shown you what unjust discriminations are made in the State of Rhode Island against worthy men who had the misfortune to be born on foreign

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soil. Three years ago the Republican party of this State passed a law forbidding the making of electors in the evening, — the most convenient time for the working-man. Selectmen can meet for any other purpose during any hours of the day or night ; so can school visitors, assessors, boards of relief, common council, and every other municipal body. Does it look as if the Republicans wanted the poor man to vote? Oh, my friends, they are willing that the poor man shall vote if he will only vote as they tell him.

Now, listen to what I shall read, and similar notices have been posted in many factories in New England. I invoke the attention of every unprejudiced voter within the sound of my voice to-night, and I appeal to him whether he approved of such things. This notice was posted at the last Presidential election in a factory in Westerly, R. I. Let me read : —

**TO ALL VOTERS EMPLOYED BY THE N. E. GRANITE WORKS  
AND THE SMITH GRANITE CO. :**

Having become fully convinced that the election of Samuel J. Tilden and a Democratic Congress on the 7th of November, will do a great injury to our business, and will also be a national calamity, we do most earnestly advise all voters in our employ to vote the Republican ticket, most especially for a Republican Member of Congress. You will by so doing secure your own interest, our interest, and the interest of your country.

**THE N. E. GRANITE WORKS.  
THE SMITH GRANITE CO.**



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It appeared in evidence before the Committee of Congress that the principal owner in the New England Works was a citizen of the city of Hartford, and an intimate friend of General Hawley. It was no less a person than the Hon. James G. Batterson, of the Hartford Accident Insurance Company. Oh, "consistency, thou art a jewel" that becomes even a Republican politician! Let us hear of no more bulldozing in the South so long as this civilized coercion is going on all over these New England States!

Again, General Hawley says "the first act of the Democratic party when it came into power was to demand the repeal of the election laws which protected the citizens against unblushing and wholesale frauds at the ballot-box."

Ah, no man knows how anxious these Republicans are to prevent fraud at the ballot-box! They have just completed the registry list in the city of Philadelphia, and there are on that list twenty thousand more names than the census of last June contained of all men over twenty years of age, naturalized and unnaturalized, sane and insane, in prison and out of prison in that city. The registry list is larger than the city of New York, although New York is one-half greater than Philadelphia. A Republican in Meriden told me himself that he voted three times in one day in Philadelphia for Hartranft, the Republican candidate for governor.

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Now, under this damnable law, the Republicans have appointed in the cities of Philadelphia, New York, and Cincinnati a long list of marshals, larger than the police force in each of those cities. These men, the vilest in the world, have been paid out of the national treasury for no other purpose than to keep men from voting the Democratic ticket. I am wearying you to-night, but let me read of only one of these sickening scenes that took place in New York City only two years ago : —

“Just prior to the election of 1878, the process was repeated by Davenport; and some three thousand more were arrested, and their naturalization papers taken away from them by this man Davenport, who had no more right to overrule the courts and declare the naturalization papers they issued fraudulent than had one of you. But few of the persons arrested on the charge of having fraudulent papers were ever brought to trial, and all who were discharged, their naturalization papers being held valid. Davenport, however, accomplished his object; and by his arbitrary and illegal acts prevented and deterred thousands of lawful voters from casting their votes. The scene before this chief supervisor and commissioner, Davenport, has been thus described : —

“From early morning till after the polls were closed, his rooms were packed and jammed with a mass of prisoners and marshals. Not only were they crowded beyond their capacity, but the halls and corridors were thronged by those who were unable to obtain admission, so that the counsel representing the

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prisoners and the bondsmen who were offered to secure their release had the greatest difficulty, and were frequently unsuccessful, in obtaining entrance. In addition to all this was that delectable iron pen on the upper floor, in which men were crowded until it resembled the black hole of Calcutta, and where they were kept for hours hungry, thirsty, and suffering every way until their cases could be reached. With scarcely an exception, these men had gone to the polls expecting to be absent but a short time. There were car-men who had left their horses standing in the public streets, men whose situations depended on their speedy return. Every imaginable vexation, inconvenience, injury, and wrong which the mind can conceive existed in their cases. And over all this pushing, struggling crowd Mr. Commissioner John I. Davenport sat supreme, calmly indifferent to everything but the single fact that no man who was arrested was allowed to vote.’”

Now let me read you a list of some of the men who served as marshals in New York at the last Presidential election, and the cheek of every Republican ought to blush as I read them:—

“Theodore, alias Mike Anthony, alias Snuffy, of 24 Cherry Street, a laborer, thirty-five years of age, married, and cannot read or write. Anthony was arrested by Detective James Finn of the fourth precinct on July 24, 1870, for larceny from the person, and was held in \$2,000 bail for trial by Justice Hogan. He was indicted by the grand jury on the charge on the 23d of August last.

“Joseph Frazier, of 279 Water Street, is a thief and confederate of thieves.

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"James Miller is the keeper of a den of prostitution in the basement of 339 Water Street.

"James Tinnigan keeps a similar den in the basement of 337 Water Street.

"James Sullivan, alias Slocum, keeps a house of prostitution at 330 Water Street, which is a resort for desperate thieves.

"Frank Winkle keeps a house of prostitution at 337½ Water Street.

"John, alias 'Buckey' McCabe, supervisor of the Eighth District, Fifteenth Ward. He is now under indictment for shooting a man with intent to kill. This precious 'supervisor' was first known to the police for his dexterity in robbing emigrants. His picture is in the 'rogues' gallery' at police headquarters in this city, No. 225. He was known as Pat Madden, alias 'Old Sow,' alias Honsey Nicholas, alias Dennis McCabe. His real name is Andrew Andrews.

"Joseph Hurtnett, supervisor Eighteenth Ward. Arrested June 3, 1869, as accessory to the murder of Richard Gerdes, a grocer, corner of First Avenue and Twenty-fourth Street.

"Henry Rail, supervisor Eighth Ward. One of the principals in the Chatham Street saloon murder; went off West to escape punishment, and has only been back a few weeks.

"James Moran, supervisor, Third District, Eighth Ward. Arrested on Sunday last for felonious assault.

"William (alias Pomp) Hartman (colored), marshal Twenty-second Ward. Arrested a few days since for vagrancy.

"Theodore Allen, marshal Eighth Ward. Now in prison for perjury, and keeps a house, the resort of panel thieves and pickpockets, on Mercer Street.

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"Richard O'Connor, supervisor Seventh District, First Ward ; has been for years receiver of smuggled cigars from Havana steamers.

"L. H. Cargill, supervisor Ninth District, Ninth Ward ; tried in United States Court for robbing the mails.

"John Van Buren, supervisor Twelfth District, Eighth Ward ; was at one time in sheriff's office and discharged for carrying off a load of seized goods from the establishment of Richard Walters in East Broadway.

"Mart Allen, marshal Eighth Ward. Served a term of five years in the Connecticut State-prison ; sentenced to Sing Sing for five years by Judge Ward.

"John McChesney, supervisor Fourth District, Ninth Ward. Associated with thieves ; bears a bad character generally.

"William Cassidy, supervisor Twelfth District, Ninth Ward ; is a street bummer, without any visible means of support.

"Thomas McIntyre, marshal Eighth Ward. Has been frequently arrested for beating his aged mother ; sent several times to Blackwell's Island.

"Timothy Lynch, marshal Sixth District, First Ward ; a Washington market-lounger.

"Peter Mose, marshal Sixth Ward ; habitual drunkard.

"John Connor, supervisor First District, First Ward ; keeps a disorderly gin-mill, resort of lowest characters.

"Francis Jordan, supervisor Sixth District, First Ward. Lives in New Jersey ; was turned out of the post-office by Postmaster Jones for bad conduct.

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"Bernard Dugan, supervisor Eighth District, First Ward; habitual drunkard. His wife left him on account of his drunkenness, and procured a divorce on that ground.

"John Tobin, supervisor Ninth District, First Ward; arrested about six months ago for grand larceny.

"Patrick Murphy, supervisor Fourth District, Sixth Ward; two years ago distributed fraudulent naturalization papers, and would furnish them to anybody that would promise to vote for Grant.

"Edward Sieven, Jr., supervisor Second District, Fourth Ward; has an indictment now pending against him in court of general sessions for cutting a boy named Kilkenny.

"Michael Foley, supervisor Fourth District, Fourth Ward; well-known repeater, voting for anybody that will pay.

"James F. Day, supervisor Seventh District, Fourth Ward; shot at a man in fight between the Walsh association and a gang from Water Street.

"John Connors, alias 'Jockey,' supervisor Third District, Fourth Ward; a well-known desperate character.

. . . . .

"Michael Costello, marshal Sixth Ward; bounty-jumper during the war.

"Harry Rice, supervisor Thirteenth District, Sixth Ward; was connected with the Chatham Street concert-saloon murder, and fled to Nebraska to escape punishment.

"Thomas Lane, supervisor Seventeenth District, Sixth Ward; formerly keeper of a notorious den at Five Points, headquarters of thieves and robbers.

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"John Lane, supervisor Twenty-second District, same Ward; was indicted for receiving stolen goods. Has served a term in Sing Sing.

"Edward Foley, supervisor Sixth District, Ninth Ward; arrested last year for stealing a watch.

"Humphrey Ayers, supervisor Eighteenth District, Ninth Ward; arrested six years ago for robbing the U. S. Mail.

"John Dowling, supervisor Nineteenth District, Ninth Ward; arrested August 20, 1869, for till-tapping.

"James Fitzsimmons, supervisor Twentieth District, Ninth Ward; arrested August 1, 1868, for robbery.

"John Martin, supervisor Fifth District, Twelfth Ward; arrested a few years ago under an indictment for arson.

"Samuel Rich, supervisor Fourth District, Thirteenth Ward; served a term of two years at Sing Sing for felonious assault.

"William P. Burke, supervisor Twentieth District, Eighth Ward; served his term in the State-prison of Massachusetts for burglary; also two years in the New York State-prison.

"James McCabe, supervisor Fourth District, Eighth Ward; now confined in the Tombs under indictment for highway robbery.

"William Irving, supervisor Fourteenth District, Eighth Ward; has served a term in Sing Sing prison for burglary committed in the Eighth Ward, and has never been pardoned.

"Patrick Henry Kily, alias Fred Williams, supervisor Twenty-second District, Eighth Ward; keeper of a house of ill-fame, a resort of the lowest and vilest characters.

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"Patrick Hefferman, supervisor of the Tenth District, Sixth Ward; arrested some time since for attempted murder.

"Frederick Sterringer, supervisor Eighth Ward; has been arrested several times for keeping disorderly house.

"J. F. Baderhop, supervisor Tenth Ward; arrested for murder a few years since.

"Ed. Weaver, marshal in Eighth Ward; has been but a short time out of State-prison, where he has been serving out his sentence.

"Walter Prince (colored), marshal Eighth Ward; now in prison awaiting trial for highway robbery.

"Andrew Andrews, alias Hans Nichols, marshal, panel thief; been sentenced two or three times to State-prison, and has just returned from Blackwell's Island."

I read this from page 1,636 of the Congressional Globe for the Forty-first Congress, third session, February 24, 1871.

What a magnificent roll of Republican statesmen, guardians of the purity of the ballot-box, that would be for Governor Jewell to send up and ask Parson Beecher to read some Sunday morning from the pulpit of the Plymouth Church in Brooklyn! Oh, I do not know how it may seem to other men; but to me, when I hear a Republican politician talking about the purity of the ballot-box, it is like the drunken man preaching temperance, the thief preaching honesty, the arch conspirator of hell preaching the sublime doctrines of the Christian



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religion. I feel like exclaiming, in the words of the heroic dead, "O Liberty! how many crimes are committed in thy name!"

General Hawley talks about "the Democratic party trying to starve the government into submission." Ah, has he read history so poorly? There is no country in the world where the people have any sort of control over the management of their public affairs whose rulers would have dared to throttle the voice of the people as Rutherford B. Hayes has. Not the queen of England, not the kings of Italy or Spain, not the proud emperors of Austria or Germany, would have dared thus to defy their parliaments.

Again, General Hawley said that "the Democrats when they obtained control of Congress appointed a large number of investigating committees, but found nothing wrong. It is true," he added, "we had the Belknap and Credit Mobilier scandals, but these were long before investigated and condemned by committees of a Republican Congress. The Republican party purified itself."

My time will not permit me to go over the long dark catalogue of crimes committed by the Republican politicians during the last fifteen years. I might summon to the stand a Republican, Benjamin Bristow, Secretary of the Treasury under General Grant, to prove how the whisky thieves

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cheated the government out of what has been estimated at fifty millions of dollars. One man, an intimate of General Grant, has lately made a confession that one ring in St. Louis, in 1872, stole seven millions of dollars with the connivance of leading Republican politicians, and that one-half of it was spent as an election fund to elect General Grant President.

I might summon to the stand another Republican, Professor Marsh, of your own Yale College, and show how the whole Interior Department was one reeking mass of corruption under Grant.

I might summon A. T. Stewart, if he were alive, and other Republican merchant-princes of New York City, and show you how they had been cheated and robbed by Republican officials in the Custom House in that city.

I might summon Mr. Columbus Alexander and many of the wealthiest Republican tax-payers in Washington to tell you of the gigantic swindles perpetrated in that city by Republicans.

I might summon Admiral Porter to tell you how we have spent four hundred and eighty millions on the navy, and have nothing to show for it. Then I might go over the blackest pages in all that wild riot of corruption and fraud, and show how two hundred millions were stolen by carpet-bag rascals in the South.

But my time forbids. I will only summon two witnesses to the stand. They shall be Republi-

## IN REPLY TO GENERAL HAWLEY

cans, and the mouths of every Republican in the land will be dumb to deny their statements. I have to-night only time to give you a sample of how the people have been robbed by Republican officials. I could stand here and read by the hour from these truthful but sad pages which record the crimes of these Republican officials.

COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1871.

MR. JOSEPHUS WOODRUFF,

Bought of GEORGE SYMMERS, Commission Merchant,  
Wholesale and Retail Dealer in Groceries,  
Provisions, Wines, Liquors, Cigars, &c.

1871

Feb. 25.	1 case champagne, W. E. H. (Senator W. E. Holcombe; sent to Columbia Hotel) . . . . .	\$50.00
Feb. 25.	1 box cigars, \$10; 2 gallons whisky, \$16, W. E. H. (Senator W. E. Holcombe; sent to Columbia Hotel) . . . . .	26.00
Feb. 27.	3 dozen ale, \$10.50; 2 dozen porter, \$7 . . . . .	17.50
Feb. 27.	Discount of draft . . . . .	35.00
Feb. 27.	1 gallon best brandy, \$20; 1 gallon best sherry, \$12, for W. E. H. (Senator W. E. Holcombe, Columbia Hotel) . . . . .	32.00
Feb. 27.	2 boxes cigars \$12.50-\$25; 2 demi-johns, \$1.50, for W. E. H. (Senator W. E. Holcombe, Columbia Hotel) . . . . .	26.50

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Feb. 28.	1 gallon whisky, \$7; 1 box cigars,	
	\$12.50 . . . . .	\$19.50
Feb. 28.	1 case champagne, \$50; 3 boxes	
	cigars, \$15-\$45 . . . . .	95.00
Feb. 28.	2 gallons whisky, \$8-\$16; 1 gallon	
	sherry, \$12 (Senator D. Biemann)	28.00
Feb. 28.	1 gallon brandy, \$20; jug and demi-	
	john, \$2 (Senator D. Biemann) .	22.00
Total . . . . .		<u>\$351.50</u>

Received payment,

GEORGE SYMMERS.

(D. McKAY.)

I read first from the great organ of the Republican party, the "New York Tribune": —

"Unhappily, there is no room to doubt that the local rule established by knavish adventurers who had gained the confidence of the ignorant colored voters was corrupt and oppressive in the extreme. Of this fact, no investigation was needed to convince candid men. The disclosures at the time of the Vicksburg massacre were such as to prove that property owners had been goaded on to the point of desperation by outrages which no civilized community long endures. Ample proof exists that the local rule in other parts of the State was infamously corrupt."

And now I read the spoken words of that man whose name is on the lips of every Republican in this canvass, Hon. Carl Schurz. On the 5th of October, 1872, Mr. Schurz spoke in Buffalo. The

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following is the passage of his speech in which he discussed the Southern question : —

“A blight has fallen over the South. It was not so much the war which was the cause of it, as it is the shameful corruption which pervades the State governments. *Fraud, plunder, shameless robbery*, — these are the characteristics of the Southern State governments. And who is responsible for it? Was it not Grant's administration to which all these robbers, all these plunderers, clung for support? But how could these thieves keep themselves in power? Their most powerful aid was the Federal government, and the next powerful aid they sought in the ignorant negro vote. Secret societies were organized to keep the negroes in subjection and to make them vote just as the Administration and its servants would want to have them vote. The thieves control these negroes, and it was under their influence that they have been arrayed against the whites. The blacks and the whites stand face to face as enemies, for *the negroes are under the influence of the most villanous scoundrels that were ever allowed to disgrace a great and noble country*. If there can be anything worse than civil war, it is the war of races; and these scoundrels have adopted just the very means to bring about such a war. At the head of the negroes are the great thieves that rule the South, and rely on Grant for support. The support is given to them freely, and every possible means has been taken to make them blind instruments of the powers that be, and the foot-step for a second term of President Grant.”

But General Hawley says the Republican party has purified itself. A party is to be judged by its

## RATCLIFFE HICKS

candidates. I will not weary you to-night in rehearsing the official delinquencies of James A. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur. Suffice it for me to say that the Republican press of the land only a few months ago denounced them as unworthy the suffrages of the American people. My only witness against Mr. Garfield shall be the written words indorsed and recorded by six thousand Republicans in Mr. Garfield's Congressional District in 1876. These men were his political friends, and had known him from boyhood. Listen while I read : —

"4. *Resolved*, That there is no man to-day officially connected with the administration of our national government against whom are justly preferred more or graver charges of corruption than are publicly made and abundantly sustained against James A. Garfield, the present representative of this Congressional District and the nominee of the Republican convention for re-election.

"5. *Resolved*, That since he first entered Congress to this day there is scarcely an instance in which rings and monopolies have been arrayed against the interests of the people, that he has been found active in speech and vote upon the side of the latter ; but in almost every case he has been the ready champion of rings and monopolies.

"6. *Resolved*, That we especially charge him with venality and cowardice in permitting Benjamin F. Butler to attach to the Appropriation Bill of 1873, that ever-to-be-remembered infamy, the salary steal, and in speaking and voting for that measure upon its

## IN REPLY TO GENERAL HAWLEY

final passage; and we charge him with corrupt disregard of the clearly expressed demand of his constituents that he should vote for its repeal, and with evading said demand by voting for the Hutchinson amendment.

"7. *Resolved*, That we further arraign and denounce him for his corrupt connection with the Credit Mobilier, for his false denials thereof before his constituents, for his perjured denial thereof before a committee of his peers in Congress, for fraud upon his constituents in circulating among them a pamphlet purporting to set forth the findings of said committee and the evidence against him, when, in fact, portions thereof were omitted and garbled.

"8. *Resolved*, That we further arraign and charge him with corrupt bribery in selling his official influence as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations to the DeGolyer Pavement Ring, to aid them in securing a contract from the Board of Public Works of the District of Columbia; selling his influence to aid said ring in imposing upon the people of said District a pavement which is almost worthless at a price three times its cost, as sworn to by one of the contractors; selling his influence to aid said ring in procuring a contract to procure which it corruptly paid \$97,000 'for influence;' selling his influence in a matter that involved no question of law, upon the shallow pretext that he was acting as a lawyer; selling his influence in a manner so palpable and clear as to be so found and declared by an impartial and competent court upon an issue solemnly tried."

Against Mr. Arthur I will summon a man, a life-long Republican, whose word no Republican in

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this city dares to dispute. On January 28, 1879, John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, wrote President Hayes as follows:—

“ If, to secure the removal of an officer, it is necessary to establish the actual commission of a crime by proofs demanded in a court of justice, then it is clear that the case against Mr. Arthur is not made out, especially if his answer is held to be conclusive, without reference to the proofs on the public records and tendered to the committee and the Senate. But if it is to be held that, to procure the removal of Mr. Arthur, it is sufficient to reasonably establish that gross abuses of administration have continued and increased during his incumbency; that many persons have been regularly paid on his roles who rendered little or no service; that the expenses of his office have increased, while collections have been diminishing; that bribes, or gratuities in the nature of bribes, have been received by his subordinates in several branches of the Custom House; that efforts to correct these abuses have not met his support, and that he has not given to the duties of the office the requisite diligence and attention,—then it is submitted that the case is made out. This form of proof the department is prepared to submit.”

What need to dwell on this sad picture? There is not a Republican but is willing to admit that the nominations at Chicago were a mistake, and were made, in the language of your own illustrious fellow-citizen, ex-Governor Hubbard, “amid breaking booms and in a thoughtless desperation.”



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Again, General Hawley claims "that the Southern people have come back to run this government according to their own ideas, and that they intend to pay the rebel debts," and says he heard Ben Hill say so.

Now, I will not say that so good a man as General Hawley will say anything that is not true ; but I will say one thing, that if General Hawley should ever be so fortunate as to be a member of the United States Senate, the last man in all that renowned body whose pathway General Hawley will care to cross will be that man who towers a giant amid that brilliant assembly, — Hon. Benjamin Hill, of Georgia. Now, what did that illustrious senator say? It is my platform, it is your platform, it is the platform of four millions of the liberty-loving Democracy of America : —

" If I had control of the party, as I have not, and shall never have, if my voice were worth anything, there are four things I would have the Democratic party proclaim to the world in most convincing terms, and adhere to with unflinching fidelity. I would have the party say —

" 1. We will not pay war losses, loyal or disloyal, unless we make a few exceptions of religious, educational, and charitable institutions, and very few of these.

" 2. We will vote no more of the public money, and no more of the public credit, and no more of the public lands, to build up or enrich mammoth monopolies in the shape of railroad corporations.

" 3. We will in good faith pay every dollar of the

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public debt, principal and interest, in good money of the standard value.

"4. We will restore the Constitution to the country and honesty and economy to its administration, confining the general government to its limited, delegated sovereign powers to promote the general welfare, and leaving the States unmolested in the exercise of their reserved sovereign powers to promote the local welfare of the people.

"Do these four things, and, in my judgment, the child is not born who will witness the termination of Democratic administration in his country, and the tongue has not been gifted with language that can express the prosperity which will follow to all our people in every section of our country."

Words worthy to have been written on the sacred tablets that were delivered to fallen man on the ever memorable heights of Mount Sinai !

Again, General Hawley said "the Southern people are hostile to the North, and intend to wipe out all the legislation of the war."

It would be useless for me to deny what General Hawley said, for it might at once be objected against my denial that I am a Democrat. But I will read to you the spoken words of a Republican who has recently visited the Southern States, and whose word ought to be to every honest Republican as conclusive as are the edicts of the Pope to every faithful Catholic. I read from a speech made by General Grant at Bloomington, Ill., in June last : —

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"It may be appropriate on this occasion to refer to my trip through the Southern States, and to what I have seen while travelling. I have been gratified at my reception in all the recently rebellious States. I passed from Philadelphia to Florida on my way to Havana, and on my return came *via* Texas from Mexico, thus passing through all the rebellious States; and it will be agreeable to all to know that hospitality was tendered me at every city through which I passed, and accepted in nearly all of them by me. The same decorations were seen in every State that are seen here to-night. The Union flag floated over us everywhere, and the eyes of the people in those States are as familiar with its colors as yours, and look upon it as guaranteeing to them all the rights and privileges of a free people, without regard to race, color, or previous condition of servitude. In most of the States, upon the reception committees, side by side, were the men who wore the blue and the men who wore the gray; and reception addresses were made in part by those who wore the blue and those who wore the gray. We have no reason to doubt that those who wore the gray will fulfil all they have promised in loyalty to the flag and the nation."

And now I will let General Hawley and General Grant have it out. The first spoke for political effect, the last to give expression to the honest sentiments of a kindly heart.

Again, General Hawley said "the Democrats are in favor of free trade, and that business will be paralyzed if the Democrats come into power."

The Republicans are taking up this tariff discus-

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sion simply for effect. They know there is nothing to it, but they think it will scare some voters and keep people from talking about the crimes of the Republican party. With an annual expenditure by the national government which cannot be less than two hundred millions yearly for the next fifty years, how is all this vast sum of money to be raised except by a tariff which must necessarily be protective?

But this is not a question upon which men divide politically. Only a few days ago a Democratic State convention in New Jersey adopted a platform in favor of a protective tariff. The strongest advocate of protection to American industry in Congress to-day is the Democratic Speaker of the House of Representatives, Hon. Samuel J. Randall, of Philadelphia. Here is what Wade Hampton of South Carolina says:—

“The South generally feels that its best interests require the protection of home industries. With the growing unity and prosperity of our country there will soon be large manufacturing interests in the South.”

Not many months ago a Republican convention in Iowa declared in favor of free trade. The strongest advocate to-day in New England of merely a revenue tariff is a paper that supports Garfield for President, and always supports General Hawley when a candidate,—the “Springfield Republican.” That I may not misquote it, here are its own words, in its issue of September 27:

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"As other issues pale, the tariff gets more and more discussion. The leading manufacturing interests are certainly ready to accept a reduction of duties. The New England cotton, paper, and woollen interests, we believe, would not oppose a moderate reduction of duties. They find that protection has been overdone until domestic competition necessitates combinations, short time, and other artificial agencies to conserve a profit. They see that the hope of reaching a foreign market upon the present basis is a delusion. We shall never be able to reach a foreign market until we have reduced the cost of our production and placed ourselves more nearly on a par with England, the country of free trade.

"As a large revenue is necessary, and the Democrats are not likely to increase the internal revenue by raising the taxes on spirits and tobacco, it is clear that a tariff for revenue is likely to afford all the protection needed. Besides, the Democrats are not of one mind; they are disposed to protect Louisiana sugar, Georgia iron, Texas wool, Pennsylvania and New Jersey manufactures. So that neither party is 'solid' in this issue, neither party is likely to go to extremes, although the Republicans are rather disposed to represent to artisans in protected industries that their employment is in danger from Democratic success."

The most unflinching and uncompromising advocate of free trade in America is that stanch Republican paper in New York City, the "Evening Post." The most prominent Republican candidate for Congress to-day from the city of Boston is a well-known advocate of free trade. I find this

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in the "Hartford Courant" of Saturday last from their regular Boston correspondent:—

"Mr. John W. Candler has the Republican nomination here by almost a unanimous vote. I am pleased to say, too, that he never retracted one word of what he had said against the iniquities of the present tariff in order to get it. He will be elected, and will make an excellent member. Mr. Candler can render service by his information as regards the tariff."

Ah, General Hawley, there are some iniquities, it seems, in this tariff; and why not be honest when you talk to the voters of Connecticut, and tell them so?

The most successful and wealthiest woollen manufacturer ever in America, a Republican worth his millions, was an advocate of free trade; I mean Hon. Edward Harris, of Woonsocket, R. I. At a convention of woollen manufacturers in Massachusetts only a few months ago, it was openly discussed whether they would not declare in favor of free trade. One of the most enterprising and wealthiest manufacturers in New Haven County—a Republican who employs hundreds of men, and who has sent his agents into every market of the world—said to me a few days ago that he found it impossible to sell his goods in foreign markets so long as we kept up our tariff on raw materials, and that as for him he was in favor of free trade; for then, instead of selling to forty

## IN REPLY TO GENERAL HAWLEY

millions, he could sell to a thousand millions of people. All that any Democrat proposes to do is to put upon the free list a few of those articles which are consumed by the poor people of this country.

At the last session of Congress the Democratic party repealed the tariff on that article which keeps the breath of life in nine-tenths of the working-people of New England, — quinine. It seems as if General Hawley, however, were treading on dangerous ground; for while he appears to be such a great stickler for a high tariff, he is on record as favoring the repeal of duties on that article which he uses so largely himself, — paper. What sublime assurance for Republican politicians to go through this State talking against free trade, when their candidate for President has been one of the most pronounced advocates of free trade in Congress, and not long since presided over a free-trade meeting in Washington! He is also a member of the Cobden Club of London, the great free-trade organization of England, which is said to dispense large sums of money in this country and all over the world to disseminate the doctrines of free trade. General Garfield has also voted repeatedly in Congress in favor of the reduction of the tariff rates upon foreign goods coming into competition with American industry; and when he was nominated by a Republican caucus as Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1877,

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five Republican members of the House from Pennsylvania bolted the nomination because he had been so prominent an advocate of free-trade measures.

Every manufacturer and every working-man ought to be in favor of Senator Eaton's bill to drive this question forever from politics. The Republican politicians want to defeat that bill and keep this question in politics; for their hope of political success lies in forever keeping the manufacturers on the anxious seat, to contribute funds and bulldoze their workmen in the interest of the Republican party.

The rich and the poor, the manufacturer and the working-man, are all interested in a change in the Administration. In the last four years a Democratic Congress has reduced the appropriations \$120,000,000. Do you know how much that is? It is \$1,500,000 for Connecticut alone. This reduction was made against the violent opposition of the Administration. Again, we are all interested in having a new set of men to keep the public accounts. It is admitted by everybody that there have been forced balances made on the books at Washington, — that is, that the receipts and expenditures could not be made to balance; and so enormous sums — in some cases of \$100,000,000 — have been arbitrarily added in order to make the accounts come out even. Again, the whole system of public expenditures needs overhauling.



## IN REPLY TO GENERAL HAWLEY

The men now in office have been there twenty years, and are so fixed in their rotten ways that the only hope of the country is in clearing out and starting anew. Let me give only a sample. In Hartford the government is building a post-office which has already cost over \$750,000, and will cost one million. Mr. James G. Batterson, who built the Capitol at Hartford, a Republican in politics, says he will put up such a building for \$300,000. This is but a sample in every building that is being erected all over the country by the United States ; and in all the supplies that are being purchased for the government the people are being robbed and cheated in the same way. It is with a nation as with an individual, — it prospers by what it saves. There is no royal road to wealth. Retrenchment and reduction in the expenditures are worth more to the business interests of the country than all other things put together. Every manufacturer, every business man, every tax-payer, ought to throw aside the prejudices of a lifetime, and vote for the only party that promises retrenchment and honesty in the public expenditures.

Let me leave this topic by reading from a stanch Republican paper, the "New York Tribune," upon the doings of a Democratic Congress, and I ask every Republican to listen while I read : —

"But it has made a success in three directions. It exposed a corrupt Secretary of War and drove him from office. It investigated an unscrupulous minister

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to England, and scourged him home. It reduced appropriations, — sometimes wisely, often unwisely ; but at all events it reduced them, and so, for the present, checked the enormous expenditures of public money. For these let this Congress have all thanks ; and let us frankly say, too, that the whole credit of them is due to the Democratic House."

Again, General Hawley tried to frighten the manufacturers of Meriden over the dangers of Democratic rule, and regaled them with nightmare dreams of coming misfortunes. Let me read just a line from a Republican paper, the "Springfield Republican," that will not swallow any of this nonsense, and that dares to speak its honest sentiments : —

"The Republican party for twenty years has so governed the country, if the current cry of the organs is true, that in a time of profound peace one party cannot succeed the other without ruining the nation ! If this were true, the Republican party ought to go forthwith. It is not true."

Again, from the "New York Herald" : —

"What is the use, again, of the Republican organs and stump speakers pretending to a harrowing fear that if the Democrats should come in they will pay the rebel debt, or rebel war-claims, or the value of the slaves, and generally destroy the credit of the country and bankrupt the treasury and the tax-payers ? Not one of them believes in this silly stuff, which yet is a staple of the Republican canvass."

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Who is the wealthiest manufacturer in all New Haven County? Why, James E. English. In Fairfield County? Why, that sterling Democrat, Nathaniel Wheeler. In Litchfield County? Why, Hon. W. H. Barnum. In Middlesex County? Why, one of your Presidential electors, Henry G. Hubbard. In Tolland County? Why, a Democrat, Charles Fox, of Stafford. And who is president of the wealthiest manufacturing company in Hartford County? Why, another of your Presidential electors, Richard W. Jarvis. Who is the wealthiest manufacturer in New Jersey, employing five thousand men? Why, Hon. Abraham S. Hewitt, a Democrat. Who is the wealthiest manufacturer in New York State? Why, a Democrat, Erastus Corning, of Albany. Who is the wealthiest merchant and manufacturer in the United States, and probably in the world? Why, a Democrat, Henry Hilton, of New York City.

Oh, what folly, what nonsense, to preach that these men have not the interests of their country at heart, and would do anything to harm the business interests of America! Such ideas live only in the disturbed imaginations of frightened Republican office-holders.

So much for General Hawley. One thought more and I am done. There is, to my way of thinking, one question at issue in this contest that outweighs, a thousand times, all other questions.

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It is the question of the right of the people to choose their own officers; it is the rock upon which our liberties rest, upon which our government exists, and upon which depends the prosperity and the very existence of the republic. Strike it out, and the republic goes down in midnight darkness.

In 1876 the Democratic party elected to the Presidency the greatest living American statesman, Samuel J. Tilden, of New York. Every leading Republican paper and every Republican in the land, from Governor Hayes down to the humblest sweeper in a government building, admitted it to be true — except one man. That man was the most dangerous, unprincipled, and unscrupulous politician that this or any other country ever saw. He knew that the electoral votes of three Southern States were in the hands of the greatest rascals that ever went unhung. In the watches of the midnight hours, when all good men were sleeping, he telegraphed to those willing instruments the conspiracy against the liberties of the American people; and then began that series of plots and counterplots which have no parallel in history, and which constitute the darkest page in the history of the new republic.

I cannot stop to dwell upon the damning facts that make all American citizens hold their heads in shame. Among the men who were sent down by General Grant to watch the count in Florida, the

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foremost man among them all was that great Republican lawyer who had filled the office of Attorney-General of New York, — General Barlow. After careful investigation, he became convinced that the Democrats had fairly carried Florida, and these are his words. Listen, my Republican friends. Here is what General Barlow says : —

“Mr. Davenport called upon me with a despatch from President Grant asking if I would go to Florida; and so I went. By the evidence laid before me I was forced, in my own mind, to believe that the Democrats had carried the State. It was my own honest opinion that the vote of the State ought to have been given to the Democrats. The returning board did not apply the same rule of action to Republican counties as to Democratic. I am a thorough Republican, and went South in the interests of the Republicans.”

Turn again to Louisiana. I have told you how General Hawley himself is on record that the electoral vote of Louisiana justly belonged to the Democrats. I cannot stop to read you all the convincing evidence of that crime, without a name and without a precedent in history. Let me read you this, however, as a sample : —

Agreement between Anderson and Nash, Representative in Congress, New Orleans, November 21, 1876:

By an agreement entered into this day between James E. Anderson, Supervisor of Registration for the parish of East Feliciana, La., and Charles E. Nash,

## RATCLIFFE HICKS

member of Congress from the Sixth Congressional District of Louisiana, it is agreed that said Anderson shall suppress evidence showing that the said parish of East Feliciana was fairly carried by the Democratic party at the election held November 9, 1876, thereby electing the entire Democratic State ticket and Congressmen,—in consideration of which the said Nash agrees to secure for said Anderson the position of Naval Officer of the Port of New Orleans, La.

JAMES E. ANDERSON.

C. E. NASH.

The above agreement was signed in our presence this 21st day of November, 1876.

J. M. TOMLINSON.

O. B. MORGAN.

This agreement, as Anderson testified, was long ago put into the hands of Mr. Matthews, and was in his possession to Anderson's knowledge until the middle of April last. In fact, in a letter written March 27, 1877, Mr. Matthews himself acknowledges that it is in his hands. This letter he here reproduces, along with another to General Harlan of Kentucky, since appointed by President Hayes to be a Judge of the Supreme Court.

MR. ANDERSON,— You are at liberty to use the note on the other page as an introduction to General Harlan, who is one of the Commission, and you can talk to him as freely as to me. You should say to Nash, if inquired of, that I have the agreement.

STANLEY MATTHEWS.

IN REPLY TO GENERAL HAWLEY

CINCINNATI, March 29, 1877.

Gen. J. M. HARLAN :

DEAR SIR, — This will be presented to you by Mr. James E. Anderson, who may desire to communicate with you confidentially.

Yours truly,

STANLEY MATTHEWS.

HEADQUARTERS REPUBLICAN PARTY OF  
LOUISIANA, MECHANICS' INSTITUTE,  
NEW ORLEANS, September 25, 1876.

To R. B. EDGEWORTH, Esq., Supervisor of Registration, Parish of Plaquemine, La.

DEAR SIR, — It is known to this Committee, from examination of the census of 1875 [the fraudulent one above referred to], that the Republican vote in your parish is three thousand ; and the Republican majority is two thousand two hundred.

You are expected to register and vote the full strength of the Republican party in your parish. Your recognition by the next State Administration will depend on your doing your full duty in the premises ; and you will not be held to have done your full duty unless the Republican registration reaches three thousand, and the Republican vote is at least three thousand.

All local candidates and committees are directed to aid you to the utmost in obtaining this result, and every facility is and will be afforded you ; but you must obtain the result called for herein without fail. Once obtained, your recognition will be ample and generous.

Very respectfully, &c.

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Other letters explaining the *modus operandi* of "not failing in the results expected" appear in testimony. But this was not all. More specific instructions were given orally to the supervisors. Mr. Edgeworth testifies thus: —

"Governor Kellogg came to the parish in company with Governor Warmouth, Judge Pardee, District-Attorney Price, and others. I showed him letter of instructions of 25th of September. Governor Kellogg told me it was extremely necessary to have that majority from that parish, and that I must by all means send in that majority from that parish. I told him I thought it was impossible; the registration would not reach three thousand, and it was impossible to do it. Governor Warmouth brought eight men from New Orleans and placed them at the different polls. These men are now all office-holders at New Orleans. They went to the polls and remained there all day."

And he further testifies that "after the election Governor Kellogg said to me that I had not carried out his expectations."

When the question came up in Congress as to how the electoral vote of Louisiana should be counted, there were two Republican Congressmen from Massachusetts who, by their commanding talents and the purity of their lives, to-day outrank all men in the Republican party in New England. One of them to-day is president of Amherst College,—President Seelye; the other is that man who last year refused a Republican nomination for



## IN REPLY TO GENERAL HAWLEY

governor in Massachusetts, — Henry L. Pierce, ex-mayor of Boston. Here is what these men said when they voted to give the electoral vote of Louisiana to Tilden and Hendricks. These are the words of ex-Mayor Pierce on counting the electoral vote of Louisiana : —

“That gross frauds were committed in the canvass of votes is admitted, I believe, by both parties; and it is also admitted that the returning board acted in the discharge of their duties in an arbitrary and illegal manner. I should be recreant to my convictions if I neglected to place on the imperishable records of the House my dissent from the rule which it is proposed to establish.”

Here is what President Seelye said : —

“No nation, said Niebuhr, ever died except by suicide; and the suicidal poison is engendered not so much in the unjust statutes of government, as in the immoral practices of a people which the government is unable to punish and unable to restrain. It is because I fear that the strict and accurate interpretation of the Constitution applied by the electoral vote of Louisiana would imperil that vote in the future, and incur the very danger which the Constitution intended to avoid, that I am unable to concur with such an application.”

There was one Republican in the Senate of the United States whose magic eloquence and transcendent genius places him at the acknowledged head of the Republican party. When the question

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came up in the Senate of counting the electoral vote of Louisiana, Conkling turned to his Republican colleagues and said, "Gentlemen, you may do as you please ; but, as for me, I will have no part or lot in this gigantic steal." He went out of the Senate Chamber declining to vote, and left it to others to consummate the greatest steal of nineteen centuries.

And now for four long years the Democracy of America have waited in patient silence to redress the greatest wrong ever committed, and to punish the most deadly blow ever struck at American institutions. But the hour of our deliverance draws nigh. The free men of America are aroused, and are marching to victory. The Democratic party has outlived a score of parties, and will outlive this Republican party that seeks to maintain itself in power by feeding the fires of sectional hatred, and by arraying one section of our common and blessed country against the other. Methinks I hear the beginning of the wild cheers of the stalwart Democracy which will go up to heaven on the ides of November next, over a country redeemed and disenthralled from Republican rule. Methinks I can read in the courses of the stars in heaven that a savior has been born to purify, elevate, and regenerate the politics of America ; and that fifty millions of people are waiting to welcome with loud acclaims, as President of the proud Republic of the West, the great soldier-statesman, Winfield Scott Hancock.

## TO THE TAX COMMISSION OF CONNECTICUT

### TO THE TAX COMMISSION OF CONNECTICUT :

I HAVE read with deep interest the discussion from time to time before your Commission. It seems as if all efforts were made principally to shield some particular interest, and to transfer its burdens to some other interest. This is sticking in the bark. It is chasing a shadow and ignoring the substance.

I know we are an old-fogy State, and that reforms move slowly here. But if we are to have any change, let us have one for the better ; or let us continue on in our old ways until the whole community shall have become so disgusted with our present system that we shall be ready to cut it up root and branch.

One of the principal branches of governmental duties is the levying and collecting of taxes. Our system, if you may call it a system, is a piece of badly constructed patchwork, and needs an entire reformation. It now shields those interests which are best able to bear taxation, and imposes taxes upon those interests least able to bear it.

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It remains to be seen whether the incoming Legislature will have the nerve and courage to go to the bottom of this whole matter. I am not the champion of any particular interest, but I want something that is equal and just and permanent; something which imposes taxation upon those interests that ought and are best able to bear it. Every man holds his life and property subject to such regulations as may be best for the whole, and this he agrees to when he becomes a member of any civilized community.

1. It would be better to have our assessors chosen county-wise, and hold office for five years. This would secure an equal and intelligent assessment throughout the county and State. Now property is assessed very differently in neighboring towns. In many towns the assessments are never legally made, and bunglers are doing the work. It needs to be put into the hands of systematic and competent men, who will introduce into the offices of assessors as much neatness, system, and completeness as you find in a bank. If it were not for the healing act passed at every session of the Legislature to cover up the blunders and mistakes of town officers, one-half of the towns in the State would never be able to collect their taxes. It has been called "The Fool's Act."

2. There is no need of an assessment oftener than once in three or five years. There is no great change in the value of the property in any five

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years ; and if there is any change, it is general, so that the assessment would bear a like proportion to all property, however changed in value. Taxes should always follow the property, as all deeds should provide that the purchaser shall pay the taxes ; otherwise they should be paid by the man to whom assessed.

3. Taxes should be laid on the rental value of real estate instead of on its supposed value. Taxes should be levied upon live, not dead, property. You do not lay taxes on cemeteries or churches ; and so you ought not to lay taxes upon a factory or a dwelling-house that is unoccupied. Besides, if the tax were laid upon the rental value, with perhaps a certain per cent added every five years for possible increase in value of property, it could be more easily and accurately ascertained. Take the Hartford Trust Company building. Men would differ \$25,000 to \$75,000 on its real value ; but its rental value depends not on guesswork, but on book-keeping, and can be accurately ascertained. It is always well to eliminate guesswork as far as possible from all business, and to reduce it to a mathematical calculation.

4. It would be well to dispense with all taxes upon personal property. The assessment of personal property is so unequal, and so easily and so universally evaded, that it is almost a farce and a fraud upon the few honest men who pay their full taxes. Stocks are transferred to people outside

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the State, to savings-banks or national banks, to escape taxation. Bonds, jewelry, notes, valuable goods, etc. are buried so deep that no assessor can ever find them. The whole thing is a sham and a burlesque on justice.

5. All special taxes upon insurance companies, savings-banks, and railroads are based upon wrong principles. They are akin to brigandage, which levies where it thinks it can collect the easiest. Every man recognizes the justice of levying taxes upon rum and tobacco, for they are hurtful; but why select one kind of legitimate business for taxation, and allow others to go scot-free? Why levy taxes on life-insurance companies, and not on the manufacturers of silks, guns, and powder? The world can get along as well without the last as without the former. The only principle upon which such taxes can be sustained is that these institutions are spendthrifts, bound to squander their property, and that some of it might as well go for taxes. Would it not be better to stop thinking how much taxes we can get out of these semi-charitable institutions, and spend a little more time in trying to make them safe and sound, and as permanent as the government itself? Should savings-banks in this State be allowed to invest one-half their assets in New York City bank-stock, and thus furnish the means whereby stock-gamblers may force the money of the poor people of Connecticut into Wall Street to the demoralization of

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all honest and beneficial business ; to stake the assets of our banks where the officers themselves do not dare to invest their own money ? Who would dare to advise the poor people of Connecticut to invest their money in New York City bank-stock ? But there is where it is being invested every day. Why should life-insurance companies be permitted to scatter their assets to the four quarters of the earth ? Ought they not to be as safely managed and as carefully guarded as a savings-bank ? Why should it be a race to see whether the man or the company will live the longest ?

6. In place of a tax upon personal property, it would be better to impose a tax upon the net income of all persons and corporations. This should include incomes from all sources, dividends from savings-banks, interest on government bonds, pensions, and wages, where the total exceeds a certain sum ; deducting incomes from real estate, as that is taxed in another way. If a corporation makes no money, it should pay no taxes. This is the way to encourage struggling industries everywhere. It is the strong, not the weak ; it is the prosperous, not the poor ; it is those who enjoy special privileges and reap great rewards, — it is such that can and should bear taxation. Gould and Vanderbilt pay no taxes. What a mockery ! what a travesty on justice and fair play ! England, the greatest commercial country in the world, whose government is controlled by wealthy

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business men, raises a large proportion of its taxes by an income tax, holding that this is the fairest tax ever known. No fair and reasonable man, however rich he may be, can object to paying his proportion of the taxes, only provided all the rest of the community pay in a like proportion.

7. The poll-tax should be abolished. It amounts to nothing. It is a relic of bygone times. Nobody pays it. But it is desirable that every able-bodied man should contribute something, no matter if it is a small sum, towards the expenses of society. It makes more of a man of him. It keeps up his self-respect, and teaches him that he is a part of the body politic, and has as good a right to express his opinion as a Vanderbilt, so long as he contributes as much in proportion towards the support of the government. Society might be classified into occupations, and every man pay a small license fee annually, which shall secure him permission to engage in his particular calling, and which shall at the same time be a return for that protection and assistance which government affords to every man.

8. One-half the proceeds of the sale of liquor should go to the State. It is intoxicating liquors that fill our jails, state-prisons, reform and industrial schools, and that largely necessitate criminal courts. Thus is spent one-half of the public money. The income tax from railroads, steamboats, mining telegraph, and telephone companies.



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should go to the State. Ten per cent of the receipts of all exhibitions should be paid to the State. The railroads and bank and insurance departments of the State should be self-supporting. We should charge travelling agents from other States the same as those States charge our own. The foregoing would produce money enough to run the State government; but if it should not, then the remaining sum needed should be assessed to each town in proportion to its assessment list.

9. This is a practical age. The great question of the hour is an economic political question. It is the problem how to distribute the burdens of society in the easiest and fairest way. This is the task that confronts the legislator everywhere, and is rising into prominence in all the States of the Union. It is the question of tariff, of revenue, of taxation, and of finance that is to engage the thoughtful attention of the American voter for the next ten years.

10. No man knows it all. Every man should give his best thoughts to it. These are mine to-day. Discussion may change them. The wise man sometimes changes his mind; the fool, never.

Respectfully submitted,

RATCLIFFE HICKS.

HARTFORD, CONN., Dec. 24, 1880.

## ADDRESS

*On the Irish Land League, delivered at Hartford,  
February 28, 1881.*

MR. PRESIDENT :

I AM here to-night to do what I can to explain the cause of the Land League agitation in Ireland, and to place it upon such high grounds that every man in whose bosom burns one spark of human love — every man who fears his God — will give at least his sympathies and prayers to the down-trodden people of Ireland. In order that I may speak with brevity and exactness, and may cover many important facts, I have written out what I wish to say.

The one great question that is to-day agitating the minds of the English-speaking race all round the inhabited globe is the problem presented by the Land League of Ireland. Thinking men, the wide world over, are turning their thoughts to this question.

The history of Ireland for two hundred years has been a history of agitation and turmoil. I shall not attempt, in the short time I have allotted to myself to-night, to review its sad history. In

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passing, I can only say that it is a history crowded with crime, persecution, and suffering ; and it is a history that ought to mantle with shame the face of every Englishman as he reads it. Who can remain unmoved at "the sight of those long and fruitless struggles of a poetic, ardent, inconsolable race"? The great Irish orator and lawyer, Henry Grattan, aptly described the English policy towards Ireland as one "than which you would hardly find a worse if you went to Hell for your principles, and to Bedlam for your discretion."

You are all, doubtless, familiar with the commencement of those outrages committed by Englishmen, which two hundred years ago laid the foundation of Ireland's misfortunes. It is a page in the world's history which for two centuries has cried to heaven for vengeance. It is the prayer of every liberty-loving soul on this whirling planet that the hour of Ireland's deliverance be brought to pass, and that the wrongs of centuries be righted forever. This question breaks over all national barriers. There is no man, be he Jew or Gentile, American or Asiatic, but feels in this question a personal interest. Ireland is to-day keeping the camp-fires of liberty. The sons of Ireland are sounding the tocsin of liberty, and every man born of woman should extend at least a brother's sympathy to these fellow-creatures struggling for liberty.

And, above all other men on God's footstool,

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this question ought to arouse the sympathy of every true American. In the dawn of American liberty, one man, an Irishman, Edmund Burke, stood up in the British parliament and pleaded for the rights of America in those matchless words that have never been surpassed in sixty centuries, and that to-day stand as the highest effort of human genius. From the opening battle of Bennington down to the last skirmish on the far-off Western prairies, there has not been one battle fought to establish and perpetuate the liberties of America where Irish blood has not flowed, and where Irishmen have not laid down their lives to save for us and our children the free institutions of America. We, then, above all other men, basking, as we are to-day, in the sun of American liberty, ought not to forget this people who are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh.

Ireland has been called the English poorhouse, supported by the people of the United States. For half a century the American people have supported millions of paupers made by the Irish land system. We have sent millions and millions of dollars to Ireland to keep the breath of life in her poor people, and to fill eventually the coffers of her landlords. We, then, have a personal interest in the final and permanent settlement of the Irish land question. If, however, there is any American here to-night who feels no interest in this question, let him go to some strange and inhospitable shore

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where his language is not spoken, but where, perchance, he may hear, even though it be from a stranger, and an Irishman at that, a few words of his own magnetic language, his mother tongue; and then for the first time in his life, perhaps, he will realize how near and dear to him is every man who speaks the master language of the age, our own good Saxon English.

Some people are so uncharitable as to charge Ireland's misfortunes to her own people. They say they are to be attributed either to the religion, the ignorance, or the slothful habits of the Irish race. Let us examine these charges.

Does any man dare to tell me that it is the Catholic religion that has brought these misfortunes upon the Irish race? I tell him he is a poor student of history. I tell him that the wealthiest nation to-day—the one where there are more men retired and living on a competence, where there is more thrift and more saving than anywhere else—is Catholic France. I wonder if in three hundred years, with all the unmeasured resources of this magnificent country of America, we have not been able to reach the wealth of France,—if ten generations have come and gone, and we still lag behind,—how many more generations must come and go before we stand on a level in wealth with Catholic France. God only knows!

It was Catholic France that built the most

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stupendous work of engineering of ancient or modern times, the Suez Canal. It is Catholic France, to-day, that cheerfully and heroically undertakes to do what all other nations have turned from in despair, — dig a ship canal across the death-breeding swamps of the Isthmus of Panama. Go out with me into the marts of trade, to your factories, to your farms, to your savings-banks, and where can you find a more thrifty and saving people than the Catholic Irish? They are to-day starving the close-fisted Yankee off these bleak New England hills.

If you tell me that the Catholic religion is not consonant with liberty, all your reading has been in vain. It was puritanical Massachusetts that drove from its borders every man who dared to differ from the religion of the Colony. It was Catholic Maryland that opened its doors to all good men of every religion. Did the Catholic religion destroy the devotion to liberty of the French patriot, the Marquis de la Fayette, of whom it has been said that he was the only man whom George Washington ever loved? It is Catholic France that to-day flaunts the flag of liberty in the face of Europe, and maintains a sister republic second to none in the galaxy of nations.

No! It is not Ireland's religion or the indolence of her people. Is it, then, their stupidity? If you ask me for the greatest orator of twenty centuries, I point you to an Irishman, — Edmund

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Burke. If you ask me for the sweetest poet in all the ages since the Psalms of David were written, I point you to the wandering Irish bard, Oliver Goldsmith; or to that other inimitable Irish poet, the much lamented and dearly loved Thomas Moore. If you ask me for the greatest commander of modern times, I point you to an Irishman, the hero of Waterloo, the Iron Duke of Wellington.

There is no sphere in life that has not been filled by Irishmen. I am not here to-night to flatter the Irish people. I am here to speak the truth as I understand it. I am here to do justice to an outcast and injured people. And I am here to say that I have no sympathy with those false pedantic notions so prevalent to-day, which look with contempt upon the capacities of the Irish race. No Irishman need ever be ashamed of his country or of his religion. Let every thoughtful Protestant remember that the Catholic faith in Ireland has been nourished by "the most sacred sentiments of the human heart, by the hatred of injustice, and by the devotion to one's forefathers;" and that the Irishman loves with equal fervor his terrestrial and his celestial country.

Now, let me invite your attention to what I conceive to be the grievances to-day of the Irish people.

Nowhere are there any people speaking the Eng-

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lish language who have as little voice in their own government as the Irish. Any attempt to enforce such a government in Canada or Australia would make either of those countries a great powder-house of insurrection. Our forefathers plunged America into the war of the Revolution for one-tenth the pretext that to-day arouses all Ireland. It behooves every American citizen to hesitate before he condemns the Irish people for disturbing the peace of England. Washington unsheathed his sword in no holier cause than inspires a Parnell. One hundred years ago America appealed to the sympathies of the civilized world for less cause than to-day invokes the sympathies of civilized men everywhere for suffering Ireland.

1. I want to show you how the taxes are laid in Ireland, something that comes as close home to a people as any branch of governmental duties.

As a relic of the days of the conquest, in every county local taxes are imposed by a "grand jury." These grand juries are appointed by the sheriffs; and the sheriffs, mind you, are appointed by the English government. Almost as a necessary consequence, the Irish grand juries are made up of large landed proprietors and their agents; and the tenants, who compose a vast majority of the people, have no representation or voice in this body which levies the taxes. How unjust and how undemocratic!

2. These same grand juries name one-half the



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local governing boards in the baronies or subdivisions of a county. The other half of these local boards, answering somewhat to our board of selectmen, is composed of justices of the peace appointed by the English government. What a wickedly conceived and cunningly contrived substitute for the voice of the people ! What a travesty on the boasted free institutions of England !

3. The Board for the distribution of relief to the poor and the sick derives its appointment from, and is largely composed of, landed proprietors. All clergymen are excused by law, and the English government reserves to itself the right to fill the entire board, which is often done.

4. Public education, which in England and Scotland is placed in charge of a board elected by the people, is in Ireland given to a board appointed by the Crown ; and its members hold for life, — a scheme for governing a people worthy the autocrat of all the Russias.

5. The few town and city officers that are elected in Ireland are chosen by electors whose qualifications are much higher than are required of electors in voting for members of Parliament. The qualifications are so high in voting for local officers that the management of local affairs is kept in the hands of a few wealthy land-holders. Irish cities and towns in which Roman Catholics are in a majority, at all elections for members of Parliament, have local governments composed exclusively of Protestants.

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No Catholic country maintains to-day such an arbitrary and unrepresentative government as that under which all Ireland is groaning. Not Catholic France, Italy, Austria, or Spain, can boast such an infamous scheme to cheat and drown the voice of the people.

6. Let me call your attention to the marked difference between the methods employed by the British government to govern her own petted England and the despised Green Island of the sea. As I have already shown you, the great matter of public education which in England and Scotland is placed in the hands of a board elected by the people is in Ireland managed by a board appointed by the English government, whose members hold for life.

By the law of 1860, passed by the British Parliament, the landlords in Ireland possess summary powers of ejectment far in excess of those possessed by the landlords in England. In England they have county officers elected by the people, but in Ireland such officials are appointed by the English government. As a result of this Land League agitation, headed by those noble Irish patriots, Parnell and Davitt, Mr. Gladstone has promised to submit to this present Parliament a bill extending the same county organization and privileges to Ireland as are enjoyed in England.

7. It is almost impossible to make an American comprehend the impediments which exist in Ire-

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land to the transfer of real estate. There are no offices or places where deeds can be recorded. All records relative to real estate are kept in the office of the attorney. If a man wants to make a deed, he must go to some particular attorney, and have him prepare an abstract showing how the land is situated and encumbered, and the attorney draws the deed and keeps it. For these services he charges from one hundred to five hundred dollars. It has long been mooted to establish the American custom of recording deeds in some public office ; but John Bull is slow to move, and hates most of all to acknowledge that America can teach the proud Briton anything.

8. All wills made in Ireland, where the amount involved is more than twenty-five dollars, must be filed and recorded in Dublin. If you want to find out about any will, you must employ some attorney at Dublin, whose charges are extortionate. This matter of wills is of far more consequence across the water than in America ; for here we limit the power of any man to tie up his estate to the life of some person in being and twenty-five years thereafter, while under the English government there is no such limitation, and wills may reach down through several generations. Thus they have much more occasion in Ireland to inquire into the terms of wills than we do. How inconvenient it would be if all the people of the six New England States and New York were

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obliged to send to Albany before they could make a deed, a mortgage, or a lease !

9. As I have just explained, a man may in Ireland encumber his estate with legacies and settlements extending down through several generations, or for long periods of time. A person who has not investigated the matter cannot appreciate what a burden it becomes to the landed interests of Ireland. So many different parties living off the industry of the tenant, so many idlers staring every purchaser in the face, so many sluggards encumbering every acre of land paralyzes the sale and transfer of real estate, and freezes the industrial ambition of the people.

10. The great trouble with the English government is that it was originally created for the benefit of the rulers. For four hundred years the great mass of the people have been struggling to secure, one by one, some of those great and inalienable rights which, by "the laws of Nature and of Nature's God," belong to all men.

One of the abominable customs which dates its origin back to the mediæval ages, and which ought to wither and die in the light of modern civilization, is the custom prevailing under the English government to-day that you cannot attach and sell the land of a bloated aristocrat, though he may owe a hundred times as much as he is worth. Every other man must pay his honest debts except this pampered son of luxury and of wild and reckless

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extravagance. England is cursed with that other twin relic of a barbarous age, primogeniture, which robs a whole family to make one child rich. Poets may write and philosophers may soliloquize on the marvellous liberties of the British government, but they look mean and contemptible beside the priceless freedom of American citizenship.

11. But the one crying evil of the hour, the ever-present and never-to-be-forgotten misfortune of Ireland, is landlordism.

Now, what does landlordism mean? It means this, that less than two thousand men own two-thirds of all the land in Ireland. On the land owned by these two thousand men are living five hundred thousand tenants and over three millions of people. I can explain this matter no better than by quoting the spoken words of one of England's great statesmen, — a man whose broad sympathies, great learning, and marvellous eloquence place him in the front rank of the world's great men. On the 16th of November last, at Birmingham, England, John Bright spoke as follows : —

“What the tenants want is this : to insure in some way, by some mode, that when a man has his house over his head — built by himself, probably, or some preceding member of his family may have built it — and his little farm around him, he should not incessantly be taught that he may any day have notice to quit and be turned out of his farm and home ; and that the rent should not be constantly added to, until even going

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out of his farm is a less evil than remaining in it. He wants some security from the constant torture and menace of increasing rent which he feels hanging over him; and he wants also that there should be some broad and generous and complete system established by the government by which land-owners who are willing to sell, of which there must be many now, — that where land-owners are willing to sell (and there are many at all times), and where tenants are able and willing to buy, then, through the instrumentality of a government commission, you may gradually, year by year, add to the number of the proprietary farmers in Ireland."

Again he said : —

"If the English people had been informed, if they had been capable within the last two centuries of judging fairly of these matters, and if in addition to this the government had been merciful and just to Ireland, there cannot be a doubt that Ireland would be as closely welded at this moment to England as Scotland is, and that it would be as difficult to raise the flag of insurrection or discontent in Ireland as it would be for Prince Charlie again to appear with his flag in Scotland. The Irish farmers are, in the main, industrious and honest. There has been no country in Europe, no part of the United Kingdom, in which rents have been more generally and constantly and fairly paid than in Ireland, until the recent troubles. The Irish farmer is an economist; he saves even to penuriousness. The great object of his life is to enable himself to give a small portion to his daughters on their marriage. The Irish people expatriated to the United States have sent millions and millions of money to

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Ireland, to help their poor relations to make the voyage thither. Therefore I believe, as much as I believe anything, that it is possible to frame a measure of legislation which will satisfy the great bulk of the Irish tenant-farmers."

To show that this is not an overdrawn picture, let me read you a little account of what is meant by a just landlord : —

"Sir Cavendish Foster is one of the few Irish landlords who have no trouble with their tenants. He is a clergyman in Essex, and owns land in County Louth, Ireland. Not long ago he instructed his agent to reduce rents twenty per cent ; but his tenants replied with a unanimous refusal to accept the reduction. They did not wish for more consideration,—they asked for none at all. Being able, they were willing, to pay their just rent in full. They told the agent to inform the landlord that such habitual justice as he gave them made it unnecessary for them to use, and they were too honest and grateful to abuse, his generosity. He explains what happened by saying that the rents were reduced at the time of the last famine in 1847, and they have never since been raised. The result of a gentle use of the landlord's power is proved by two remarkable circumstances. When the late landlord died, the tenants spent two thousand dollars in putting up a monument to him. The agent—the usually hated agent —died. A similar monument was put up to him. At a time when landlordism is being decried all over Ireland, Sir Cavendish Foster is receiving constantly from his tenants declarations that if all landlords were like him, the Land League would be impossible."

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Such fidelity and such attachment as is pictured in the description which I have just read to you proves that the Irish people possess some of the best and noblest traits of the human heart, — “a singularly pure, domestic nature, an affectionate and even sunny disposition, and hearts full of gratitude and friendship.”

You read much in the papers of the three “F’s.” Let me explain what is meant by the three “F’s.” The first *F* stands for fixity of tenure. The tenant in Ireland wants the privilege of renting the land for a definite term of years at some fixed rent. At the present time he is liable to have his rent raised or himself evicted at every whim of the landlord. Remember that in three years a million people were turned out-doors by their relentless landlords, to sleep with nothing above them but the blue arch of heaven, and nothing beneath them but the cold sod. The tenants also want that when they are evicted they shall receive compensation for any improvements they have made, and also compensation for being disturbed, — these questions to be determined by a fair board of appraisers. If the English government has made it impossible for a vast majority of the people of Ireland to gain any permanent interest in the land on which they live, and compels them to occupy for many generations the position of simple tenants of the soil, throwing upon them



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also the misfortune of bad crops or stagnation in business, without any corresponding reduction in their rents, — who can blame these poor people when they appeal from the avarice of the landlord to some fair and impartial tribunal?

The second *F* stands for free sales. By this is meant that the outgoing tenant wants the privilege of selling to the incoming tenant the unexhausted improvements which he has made upon the farm. Bear in mind that this is secured to the tenant in England by a law containing a list of the improvements for which compensation may be demanded by the out-going tenant, and the rates to be allowed for the same. England, as I have already shown you, has one law for the Jew and another for the Gentile.

The third *F* stands for fair rent, and means a protection to the tenant against the arbitrary and excessive exactions of the landlord. It contemplates the creation of some board of arbitration to decide between the landlord and the tenant when they are unable to agree. Every sign of prosperity of the tenant is now only an incentive to the landlord to raise the rent.

In order to appreciate the importance of these three schemes for improving the condition of the tenant in Ireland, you must remember that the laws of England have made it almost impossible for a vast majority of the Irish people ever to own any interest in the soil; they are condemned by cer-

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tain inexorable laws to live and die, generation after generation, as simple tenants of the soil. The terms of their leases cover many years, during which, for the purpose of protecting and advancing their own interests and the interests of their landlords, they are obliged to make many permanent improvements,—build houses, barns, walls, ditches, etc.,—while in England the landlord makes these improvements. Do you wonder then that three millions of people, who have spent their lives in improving the farms on which they are living, demand some protection against the avarice of the landlord, some security that they shall not be driven in the hour of their misfortune, or in that old age which comes alike to the rich and the poor, from the land on which they were born, and from the homes which they have erected?

It is only carrying a little further, and I think for a better purpose, a principle well recognized everywhere, that all men hold their property subject to its being taken for public use at a fair appraisal. You can take my land to build a court-house on, upon paying me the appraisal. Why may you not compel a greedy landlord to rent his farm at a fair appraisal and upon reasonable terms, when poverty and starvation stare a whole nation in the face?

If you ask me whether these contemplated improvements have ever been tried anywhere else, I tell you yes. The Land League of Ireland is only attempting to secure for the tenants in Ireland the

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same privileges that have been enjoyed for many generations in the happy and prosperous Netherlands. In the laws and customs of India, long prior to its domination by the British, you could find nearly all the privileges that the Irish tenant is begging for to-day. Under the old Roman Empire, whose people found their chief pleasure in the brutal gladiatorial fights, who worshipped false gods, who had never heard the sublime doctrines of the Christian religion, who never dreamed of a risen Lord, — among that ancient people it was a law that when the land was unproductive through the calamities of the season, the rent of the land was either suspended or extinguished. The Land League of Ireland appeal to their English rulers, with all their boasted learning and civilization, to establish for the unfortunate people of Ireland a law which has come down to us from pagan Rome, and which has had the approval and is covered with the hoary frosts of twenty centuries. This may explain why poverty-stricken Ireland is to-day in arms against landlordism, and appeals confidently to the humanities of the race and the brotherhood of mankind to move the hard hearts of her British rulers.

Another great object sought to be accomplished by the Land League is to induce the English government to lend its aid in reclaiming the waste lands of Ireland, estimated to contain over two

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millions of acres, and then to divide the lands into small farms. These lands alone would make forty thousand farms. John Bright eloquently says: "What is a million of money, what are ten millions, what are fifty millions, to this country, to pursue to a successful issue a great question like this?" He might well have added that hardly a year passes in which the English government does not spend an equal sum to subjugate some savage race, exasperated by the cruel and relentless demands of British officers and traders, in the wilds of Africa, or in the snow-clad heights of central Asia.

England might learn a lesson from America. We could have freed three millions of slaves and planted them on African soil, and saved a bloody fratricidal war and ~~five~~<sup>hundred</sup> millions of dollars and one million of precious human lives, had we been wise enough. The poet has truly sung —

"Peace hath her victories  
No less renowned than war."

Another object which the Land League seeks to accomplish is to induce the English government to lend its credit, as has been done in Prussia and Russia, and enable the Irish people to become owners of the soil; to divide up the vast tracts of land now for sale, or owned by corporations, — in the words of an eloquent Irish orator, "to root the people to the soil." No people are so happy, no

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people are so contented, no people are so loyal to the government, as where all the people own a few acres of God's green earth. Ireland could easily be made to support twenty millions of people better than she supports six millions to-day. Ireland has less population to the acre than France, Belgium, Italy, Netherlands, or Switzerland. The infernal policy of the English government has in the last twenty years reduced the population of Ireland nearly three millions, — two millions by emigration, and one million by starvation.

In Ireland, from 1841 to 1861, two hundred and seventy thousand houses, representing at least two millions of people, were levelled to the ground. In one year, in the province of Connaught, twenty-six thousand four hundred and ninety holders of land were wiped out to please the ambition or taste of great landed proprietors. It was an Irish poet whose tongue was touched with heavenly wisdom, who sang in those sweet, sad words, —

"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,  
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay.  
Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade, —  
A breath can make them as a breath has made;  
But a bold peasantry, a country's pride,  
When once destroyed, can never be supplied."

Ireland is cursed in another way and differently from any other country of which you may read in

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history. Nearly one-half of all the land in Ireland is owned by men living in other countries. What interest have such men in the soil except to suck all the life out of it? These three thousand absentee landlords own one-half of all the cultivated land of Ireland, and have exhausted and allowed in the last five years three hundred and ninety-eight thousand acres of land to relapse into waste and uncultivated fields. They demanded such exorbitant rents that the tenants were obliged to abandon the fertile plains of Connaught, and move on to the barren and cheerless hills which rise toward the Curlew Mountains. When, after years of toil, they had reclaimed their wretched mountain tracts, and dotted them over with happy homes, their landlords doubled the rents, and they found themselves again houseless and pensioners on the charities of a cold and uncharitable world. When these poor people are set adrift in the world with nothing left to them but the hopes of an immortal heaven, they look <sup>higher and</sup> thither to find some remedy, some cure, for their overwhelming misfortunes; and they find on the pages of the wisest political economist of the nineteenth century, in the writings of the flower of the British intellect, John Stuart Mill, these pregnant sentences: —

“The land of Ireland — the land of any country — belongs to the people of that country. The individuals called landlords have no right in morality and

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justice to anything but the rent, or compensation for its salable value. When the inhabitants of a place quit the country *en masse* because its government will not make it a place fit for them to live in, the government is judged and condemned. It is the duty of Parliament to reform the land-tenure in Ireland. There is no necessity for depriving the landlords of one farthing of the pecuniary value of their legal rights ; but justice requires that the actual cultivators should be enabled to become in Ireland what they will become in America, — proprietors of the soil which they cultivate. The greatest burthen on land is the landlords. Returning nothing to the soil, they consume its whole produce, minus the potatoes, strictly necessary to keep the inhabitants from dying of hunger ; and when they have any purpose of improvement, the preparatory step usually consists in not leaving even this pittance, but turning out the people to beggary, if not to starvation. When landed property has placed itself on this footing, it ceases to be defensible, and the time has come for making some new arrangement of the matter. When the sacredness of property is talked of, it should be remembered that any such sacredness does not belong in the same degree to landed property. No man made his right in the land. It is the original inheritance of the whole species. Its appropriation is a question of general expediency. When private property in land is not expedient, it is unjust. It is no hardship to any man to be excluded from what others have produced ; they were not bound to produce it for his use, and he loses nothing by not sharing in what otherwise would not have existed at all. But it is some hardship to be born into the world and to find all Nature's gifts pre-

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viously engrossed, and no place left for the new-comer. To reconcile people to this, after they have once admitted into their minds the idea that any moral rights belong to them as human beings, it will always be necessary to convince them that the exclusive appropriation is good for mankind on the whole, themselves included; but this is what no sane human being could be persuaded of, if the relation between the land-owner and the cultivator were the same everywhere as it has been in Ireland."

The eloquent historian Froude, with all his English prejudices, says: "The land in any country is really the property of the nation which occupies it."

Do you wonder, then, that these people begin to agitate these great questions; that they have organized the Land League of Ireland to endeavor to secure in a peaceful way those rights and privileges which are the birthright of every human being, and without which life is not worth living? The American patriots a hundred years ago, in the city of Philadelphia, proclaimed to all the world and to all times these grand principles: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, — that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among them are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that



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whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it." The Irish patriot of to-day would stand approved in history through all time if he should plant the flag of liberty on every green hill of the Emerald Isle, and sound the bugle blasts of freedom. You must remember that it has only been by agitation and turmoil that the Irish people have ever been able to secure any concessions, or any new privileges, from the English government. The most brilliant living English essayist, William Lecky, writing on this subject says: "Generation after generation, by a slow, steady, and fatal process, the Irish nation has been educated into disloyalty; taught to look with distrust upon constitutional means of obtaining its ends, and accustomed to regard outrage and violence as the invariable preludes to concession."

Catholic emancipation, the concession of equal rights to Catholics and Protestants, was only granted by the king of England after the Duke of Wellington, the commander of His Majesty's forces, had told the king that he must choose between emancipation and insurrection. The wild and futile efforts of the Fenians, Mr. Gladstone has publicly stated, made the disestablishment of the Irish Church a political necessity.

I have not time to-night to go into that other question, which for three-quarters of a century has

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been uppermost in the minds of the Irish people, and whose advocates are known to-day as home-rulers. It would be useless for me to attempt to plead a cause which has had for its advocates a Curran, a Grattan, and an O'Connell, — names born never to die.

The series of acts which finally culminated in the abolition of the Irish parliament, and in the consolidation of Ireland and England under one parliament, constitutes the blackest page in the history of the last century. All the blood of all the landlords in Ireland cannot atone for that crime which smells to heaven. A modern English writer has justly said : " In the case of Ireland, as truly as in the case of Poland, a national constitution was destroyed by a foreign power contrary to the wishes of the people. In the one case, the deed was a crime of violence ; in the other, it was a crime of treachery and corruption. In both cases a legacy of enduring bitterness was the result. Whatever may be thought of the abstract merits of the arrangement, the union, as it was carried, was a crime of the deepest turpitude, — a crime which, by imposing with every circumstance of infamy a new form of government on a reluctant and protesting nation, has vitiated the whole course of Irish opinion."

William Gladstone, the premier of England, following in the footsteps of most English statesmen, proposes, as the first solution of the problem,

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the adoption of the usual coercive legislation, — a very instructive but lamentable fact, — and vainly hopes by this means to still the troubled waters. The legislation of the British parliament for Ireland has ever bristled with dragons' teeth. It has passed one coercion act, on an average, nearly every year since the union was fraudulently established. These coercion laws have always fallen short of their purpose. All the laws and all the soldiers of the English government can never destroy or exterminate the undaunted spirits of the Irish people. The poet has truly said, —

"Freedom's battle once begun,  
Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,  
Though baffled oft, is ever won."

We can already begin to see the dawn of a better day. By agitation, by public meetings, by a calm, peaceful, and persistent presentation of her claims, Ireland will, I believe, under the guidance of a kind Providence, soon pass through the Red Sea of her afflictions into the Promised Land of peasant proprietary, and of consequent prosperity and contentment.

A commission appointed by the English parliament to investigate the condition of Ireland has recently reported in favor of two fundamental principles, which have never been recognized in the discussion of the Irish question, and which will call forth a horrified protest from the land-holding

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class ; namely, that the cultivator has a property in the soil he tills, and that he has a right to get a living, and something more than a living, from the land. The commission condemns that system which robs the tenant of everything except what is necessary for a bare subsistence ; which keeps half a nation in abject poverty, and crowds and stifles the brute creation and human souls in one narrow hovel. Nearly three-quarters of all the people in Ireland are living to-day in mud houses, sharing their pitiable shelter with their best friend, the brute animal.

The commission therefore recommends that the tenant should be protected against forfeiture of the interest in his holding, — either by arbitrary ejection, or by raising his rent at the discretion of the landlord, — and, instead of a tenancy from year to year, the commissioners would create a statutory tenure defeasible only by decree of the land court for a breach of specified conditions. This would secure that fixity of possession which is the prime condition of successful farming and contentment of mind.

We are approaching the most critical period in the history of the Land League agitation. This is no time to haul down the colors or suspend the agitation. Let no man be discouraged because the foremost champion of the Land League agitation, Michael Davitt, pines in a British jail. Every great cause must have some martyr, and future

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generations will cherish the memory of Ireland's martyred saints. Now is the time for the sons and friends of Ireland to marshal their forces for the final charge upon the embattled hosts of landlordism, and of English ignorance, cruelty, and injustice. In this Land League agitation, in this grand appeal to the public opinion of the world and to the parliament of mankind, there is no need of soldiers or the dreadful calamities of civil war. Instead of muskets, I would put into the hands of every member of the Land League organization a banner, and on that banner should be blazoned the words of the immortal Grattan: "I wish for nothing but to breathe in this our island, in common with my fellow-subjects, the air of liberty. I have no ambition, unless it be to break your chains and contemplate your glory. I will never be satisfied so long as the meanest cottager in Ireland has a link of the British chain clanking to his rags."

No true Irishman ever despairs of his country. When Henry Grattan, the foremost representative of the Irish people and one of the noblest representatives of the human race, spoke for the last time in the Irish parliament, at the old Parliament House in Dublin he proclaimed to the world these lofty sentiments, which may well serve as a rallying cry for the unconquered and unconquerable spirits of all the true sons of Ireland, and which will go resounding through the cycle of the ages. Listen to his memorable words: —

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"The constitution of Ireland may for a time be lost, but the character of the people cannot be lost. The ministers of the Crown may perhaps at length find out that it is not so easy to put down forever an ancient and respectable nation by abilities however great, or by corruption however irresistible. Liberty will repair her golden beams, and, with redoubled heat, animate the country. The cry of loyalty will not long continue against the principles of liberty. Loyalty is a noble, a judicious, and a capacious principle; but in these countries loyalty distinct from liberty is corruption, not loyalty. Yet I do not give up my country. I see her in a swoon; but she is not dead. Though in her tomb she lies helpless and motionless, still there is on her lips a spirit of life and on her cheek a glow of beauty.

"Thou art not conquered. Beauty's ensign yet  
Is crimson on thy lips and on thy cheeks,  
And Death's pale flag is not advanced there.'"

And closing, he said: "While a plank of the vessel stands together I will not leave her. Let the courtier present his flimsy sail, and carry the light bark of his faith with every new breath of wind; I will remain anchored here, with fidelity to the fortunes of my country, faithful to her freedom, faithful to her fall."

## A TRIBUTE TO LINCOLN

*Speech delivered at a Methodist Church.*

FRIENDS, — It is fitting that we should assemble to-night in this temple of the living God to commemorate the heroic deeds of the brave and fallen soldiers of the Union. For six thousand years no government has been raised up by human hands which has done so much to advance the cause of the Christian religion as this free government of America. In all the history of man from the time of his inception upon the globe down to the present hour, you fail to find any government that so truly represents the grand principle of our religion — the equality of man to man — as does the American Republic. It knows no distinction of race or color, rank or birth.

This great doctrine first burst upon a startled world nineteen centuries ago, when the Saviour of mankind proclaimed upon the hills of Judea to the Jews, who thought themselves the chosen sons of Heaven, that in the sight of Almighty God one man is as good as another. That magnificent idea grew slowly through the ages, and only reached its perfect fruit when in 1862, amid the throes of a gigantic rebellion, Abraham Lincoln proclaimed

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that thereafter and forever there should be no distinction known in law in America between one man and another. Our forefathers, fleeing from the despotism of the Old World, sought to found upon the wild and inhospitable shores of America a nation where every man might worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and where he might enjoy under the least possible restraints the great sum of human existence, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This nation, born amid tears and sufferings, has for three hundred years been the vanguard nation in the march of civilization, and is now the proud hope of liberty-loving men in every quarter of the civilized world. And, to-day, it is the only government in the wide world where the mass of mankind are not toiling to support in a pernicious and unmerited luxuriance a favored few.

Look at the two great rival nations. In England, with all its boasted progress and development, all men are taxed to support a church at whose altar they may never worship, and to maintain a clergy oftentimes indolent and unworthy. Besides, they are taxed millions on millions to support a royalty and an aristocracy whose only claim is the accident of birth. The toiling millions are thus robbed every year of countless hours which they might otherwise spend in ministering to the development and happiness of themselves, and of those near and dear to them.



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Germany, of which we hear so much in these days, on account of her struggles with the Roman Church, is only just breaking from the shackles which were welded in the Middle Ages. Her government is following in the onward march of civilization two hundred years behind America. Within the past year an otherwise respectable clergyman has been sent to jail in Germany for thirty days because he said that in his opinion the Bible contains some errors. The free press of Germany is crushed under the iron heel of a relentless government. King William wars not so much against the Roman Church as against everything that threatens the overthrow of his one-man despotism; and the Pope at Rome is, wittingly or unwittingly, fighting the battles of liberty.

The enemies of the liberty of conscience and of the rights of human nature all round the inhabited globe hoped with satanic jealousy for the overthrow of the American Union, — the last, best hope of mankind. To whom are we indebted for the preservation of the Union except to the Union soldiers? And no person owes them a deeper debt of gratitude than the American Christian. While we have met here to-night to celebrate the brave deeds of the fallen soldiers of the Union, by whose heroic struggles we are enabled to transmit to coming generations the priceless heritage of American liberty, we have met in no spirit of animosity toward any section of our com-

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mon country. Inspired by that same spirit of charity and forgiveness by which we hope finally to secure an entrance into the mansions of the blessed, we are here, ready to rejoice with every man and woman who call themselves Americans, over the grandest triumph that has been won in nineteen centuries for the cause of religion and justice.

## HORACE GREELEY

### *Speech in Memory of the Great Journalist.*

MR. PRESIDENT, —

It is more appropriate on this festive occasion that those men should fill the happy hours of this gathering who had been long in sympathy with the political views of the lamented statesman in honor of whose memory we have assembled to-night. For it was only recently that I found myself acting in consort and fighting under the leadership of the great man whose transcendent virtues will live as long as time shall last.

But now that I am up, I have one sentiment to offer, and then I have done. It is that, through the fifty years of bitter political controversy and through all the varying tides of party through which he passed, our lamented friend, whatever else may have been said against him, ever bore the name of an honest man. And all who read his life in the years to come, differing with him though they may, will find stamped upon his every act, as clear as the sun at midday, those heavenly virtues, purity of purpose and kindness of heart. Not one dollar of dishonest money, obtained either in private life or in public station, ever soiled his

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hands. He could say better than any other man that ever lived upon the American soil, in the language of Wolsey, "Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy Country's, thy God's, and Truth's."

There was one thing in the life of Horace Greeley which interested me more than anything that has transpired in these many years, — the last great act of his life. He went from city to city, from State to State, from ocean to ocean, proclaiming the glad news of reform in the administration of public affairs; and from the days of Patrick Henry down to the present hour, no man ever walked upon the American rostrum who excelled our lamented friend in the matchless eloquence, in the nobility of the sentiments proclaimed, and in the variety of topics touched upon in those prophetic addresses. It seemed like the singing of the dying swan, like the expiring effort of a great and noble genius. Through all those addresses ran a sentiment so pure, so noble, it seemed born of something better than earth.

In my judgment, any man who steadily toils and sacrifices to make men better and purer is in the highest and best sense a follower of Him who went about doing good.

Peace be to the memory of Horace Greeley!

## IN MEMORY OF E. K. FOSTER

MR. PRESIDENT, —

It is with feelings of hesitancy that I, one of the younger members of this Bar, rise to address this meeting ; but I should be false to every feeling of my heart if I did not pay my tribute of respect to the memory of our departed friend and member, E. K. Foster.

His gentle demeanor and unfailing kindness, especially towards the younger members of this Bar, have won from them all their undying love. No man ever extended so kind a greeting to a young man just entering upon the arduous struggles of a professional life ; and in his death the younger members of this Bar have lost a friend indeed, the Bar of New Haven County one of its brightest jewels, and the commonwealth of Connecticut one of her noblest citizens.

Peace be to his ashes, and sweet be his memory !

## SPEECH

*Delivered at Town Hall, October, 1868, introducing*

JAMES F. BABCOCK.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

I RETURN to you my sincere thanks for the honor which you have done me to-night in appointing me the presiding officer of this meeting.

I am proud to be with you to-night ; I am proud to belong to the great national Democratic party, — that party which ever carries the flag and keeps step to the music of the Union.

When Pericles paused upon the opening threshold of eternity, and in his dying moment reviewed the events of his great life, he consoled his parting spirit and rested the chief glory of his reign upon the fact that he had never caused a citizen of Athens to shed a tear. The Democratic party was cradled at the commencement of this government, and in its subsequent growth it has kept pace with the rise and progress of the great American republic ; and in the elevation of the Democratic party to power once more we look for the restoration of peace and harmony to this dis-

## INTRODUCING JAMES F. BABCOCK

tracted land, — for the return of those halcyon days when once again all the people of this country, North and South, East and West, shall rejoice in one another's successes, striving to alleviate one another's woes, and struggling together to bear upward and onward the emblem of freedom, the standard of the Union.

During the past three years not a hostile arm has been raised from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Lakes to the Rio Grande; not a rebellious son of the great republic has been found anywhere. And why, during these three years, have we not had peace, — benign, heaven-born peace; that peace for which the people have labored; that peace for which our soldiers fought and died, — peace, which should reunite the people of thirty-seven States in the bonds of love and friendship, — peace with its accompanying blessings, prosperity and plenty? Ah, I will tell you. Because the men in Washington preferred war to peace; because they were determined to keep one-half of this country under military rule: yes, to do just what Jefferson Davis had failed to do, — to blot out ten States from this Union. And why? For fear that they might lose their offices; for fear that their party might soon be in a minority.

"God grant swift safety to the land!  
God haste the peace-returning morn,  
When our great Mother yet shall stand  
Triumphant with her second born!"

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There is present with us to-night a distinguished citizen of this State,—a man who in the dark days through which we have passed, when the radical leaders in Congress took up the secession doctrine ; when they declared that ten States had seceded from the Union and were no longer members of the great Confederacy ; when Congress passed laws to prevent the Supreme Court from deciding upon the constitutionality of the acts of Congress ; when, finally, these radicals attempted to impeach the lawful President of these United States, and to thrust him from his high position and put in his place a swearing braggart, Ben Wade of Ohio ; when they attempted this consummate act of infamy, this stain and disgrace on the American nation, because, forsooth, they could not bend Andrew Johnson to their wicked purposes,—then it was that our fellow-citizen said to his political associates, “I can go with you no longer. My voice and my vote are for the Union.”

I have the pleasure of introducing to you to-night Hon. James F. Babcock, of New Haven.



## REMARKS

*Made at the Fireman's Dinner, Meriden,  
May 18, 1869.*

MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN :

IT is with extreme reluctance that I rise this day to respond to the sentiment of "His honor the Mayor." But although I am a young man, and have been only for a year or two a resident of this city, I take a deep interest in everything that concerns this young and rising municipality.

As a citizen of this city, I never felt prouder of Meriden than I did to-day, when I witnessed the parade of our fire department. I venture to say that there is not in this State a better disciplined, a more efficient fire department than that of the city of Meriden. Great praise is certainly due to the officers and members of the fire department for its successful organization; and some praise is certainly due to those members of the Common Council who have given to this subject no little thought and consideration.

We meet to-day, gentlemen, to dedicate a building, erected by the Common Council of this city, for the convenience of the different depart-

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ments of the city government. I trust this building will long stand, a monument of the good sense and judgment of the Common Council of 1868-69.

Not only in the erection of this building, but on every hand,—in improved streets, in new sidewalks, in the erection of street-lamps, in the organization of a police and fire department, in the building of public water-works,—in these, and in a hundred different ways, have the Common Council of this city shown their faithfulness and devotion to the public interests; and the time will soon come when all the people of this city will be ready to give to these gentlemen—the mayor, the aldermen, and the Common Councilmen—the praise and the thanks to which they are justly entitled. And I can only express the wish that that same good feeling and that same earnest devotion to the public interests which has thus far since the organization of the city united men of all parties, and without which this city government would never have been organized, and without which it would not have been so honestly, faithfully, and successfully managed as it has been for the past two years,—I say I can only express the wish that that same good feeling and that same earnest devotion to the public interests may still continue to unite men of all parties and to rule in the councils of our city.

## A TRIBUTE TO TOLLAND

*From the "Stafford Press," Dec. 6, 1894.*

A UNION gathering of the voters of all political parties of the town of Tolland was held at the town hall, Monday evening, November 26, by invitation of the Hon. Edward E. Fuller, Senator-elect, and Representatives-elect William Sumner and Ratcliffe Hicks. Every voter in the town was asked to participate in the festivities of the occasion; and about two hundred sat down to the tables, which were generously supplied. The meeting was called to order by Frank T. Newcomb, one of the town committee, and E. S. Agard was chosen chairman. After supper, the chairman introduced the Hon. Edward E. Fuller, Senator-elect, who responded in a very excellent speech. Representative-elect Sumner was next introduced. He made some pleasing and well-appreciated remarks; and then his colleague, Mr. Hicks, was called on, and spoke as follows:—

### FELLOW-CITIZENS:

It is with feelings of pleasure, tinged with some little sorrow, that I am here to-night to attend this festive gathering of the voters of the town of Tolland.

It is a pleasure to me to come back to the place where I was born; where I spent the happiest

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twenty years of my life ; where my ancestors have lived for one hundred and fifty years and more ; where are buried my nearest and dearest of kith and kin ; and where, in the good order of Providence, I expect to be finally laid away at rest.

If there is any spot in this wide, wide world that I feel I can call, and that I have a right to call, my home, it is this little town of Tolland, nestled up here among the rock-ribbed hills of Tolland County. But, as I have already said, it is with some feelings of sorrow that I always come back to Tolland ; for I miss the familiar faces and the kindly greetings of many noble men and women whose lives are a part of the history of this grand old town, and who have passed on to their final reward. In thinking of them I am reminded of those beautiful lines of one of New England's sweetest poets : —

“ Dear souls, who left us lonely here,  
Bound on their last, long voyage, to whom  
We, day by day, are drawing near  
Where every bark has sailing room.”

It may possibly be true, my friends, that I am open to the criticism that I am not always with you in the body ; but it is true that I am always with you in the spirit. However far I may have wandered from my ancestral home in my travels round this broad earth, — whether in the crowded

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cities of the Old World, London, Paris, or Rome, or among the snow-capped mountains of the Alps,—wherever I may have happened to be, there has hardly been a day of my life that my thoughts have not come back to beautiful Tolland, and to the scenes through which I have passed here, and to the dear friends I had left behind.

If by any act or word of mine, either in public or in private life, I have ever contributed in the least towards the prosperity, the stability, the reputation, and the fair fame of the town of Tolland, my highest ambition is satisfied. As for what I am willing to do in the future, in all the things that may tend to promote the welfare of this town and of its inhabitants, I must let the past speak and make for me my pledges. For all the kindnesses and favors that you have extended to me in the days and years that are gone, I return to you, one and all, my most sincere thanks.

And now, in bidding you all a very good night, I pray that Heaven will shower upon you, and upon all the homes in goodly Tolland, its sweetest and its choicest blessings,—health, happiness, and prosperity.

## S P E E C H

*Delivered at Meriden, March 25, 1871, opening the  
Connecticut Campaign.*

FELLOW-CITIZENS:

I SINCERELY thank you for the honor you have done me, by appointing me the presiding officer of this meeting. The question this spring, my friends, is not who shall be the next governor of Connecticut, but how great shall be his majority. The people of this State have already elected in their hearts as their next governor, the Hon. James E. English, and the only question to be decided on the first Monday in April is how large shall be his majority; and hundreds of Republicans in this State are saying that James E. English is good enough Governor for them, and that they have no desire, and much more no expectation, of seeing him defeated.

A most bitter feud has sprung up in the ranks of the Republican party, and Ulysses S. Grant is surely and steadily tolling the death-knell of his party. He has descended from his proper position as President of the United States, and lobbied with Congressmen to disgrace and degrade some

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of the oldest, most spotless, and faithful members of the Republican party. He has secured the removal of Charles Sumner from the chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, — a place which he has held for twelve years with great credit to his country, — and has secured the appointment in his place of the most corrupt politician in America, Simon Cameron, who, the "Springfield Republican" says, twice bought his election to the United States Senate, and whom Abraham Lincoln removed from his Cabinet for corruption in office. General Grant has also lost the support of the whole German element of the West by his refusal even to see Carl Schurz, the eloquent and gifted Senator from Missouri, when he called at the White House upon official business. And all this, gentlemen, because these men would not bow the knee to Ulysses Grant, and vote for the annexation of San Domingo. I hope that the people of this Congressional District will send to the next Congress a gentleman who, caring nothing for Presidential frowns, will have the courage to speak, as Stephen W. Kellogg has not, the true sentiment of a vast majority of the people of this district in opposition to that infamous scheme, urged by a White House lobby, for the annexation of the remote and worthless island of San Domingo, whose inhabitants are in no way fitted for a successful and happy union with the people of the American republic. To annex it would be a worthless expenditure of

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the people's money, and dangerous to the perpetuity of the institutions of our common country. The people of New Hampshire on Tuesday last proclaimed in thunder notes their disapproval of the annexation of San Domingo. It only remains for Connecticut to imitate the glorious example of New Hampshire, by electing as Governor, by three thousand majority, that honored gentleman, James E. English, and by sending to Congress four true Democrats.



## SPEECH

### *At the Meeting of the Committee on Humane Institutions.*

As briefly stated in Tuesday's "Republican," the Committee on Humane Institutions met in the afternoon at two o'clock, in room No. 16, Insurance Building, Hartford, to take action regarding the petition for an investigation into the affairs of the State Reform School. The full committee were present, Senator Charles W. Yale, of the Sixth district, being in the chair. Ratcliffe Hicks, Esq., appeared for the petitioners, and addressed the committee.

Mr. Hicks began by calling the attention of the committee to many changes that ought to be made in the laws relating to the Reform School, and pointed out the great superiority of the laws of Massachusetts relative to such institutions over our own laws; among others, that the office of superintendent and treasurer should be separated, and not held as at present by the same person; the law should be so changed that the teachers and all officers should be alone appointed and removed by the board of trustees. In support of these

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propositions, Mr. Hicks claimed that these powers vested in one man clothed him with too much authority, deprived under officers of their independence, and made them fearful of asserting their rights.

After dwelling at length on these points, Mr. Hicks took up the question of contracts, and claimed that these should be put in writing, as otherwise the State might suffer great loss by the death, removal, or resignation of the superintendent or other officer. A detailed report of the expenses and receipts should be made, so that each item would explain itself. The reports should state in separate items the amount of salary paid each officer, — something never done here, although it has been the custom in other States. The tax-payers have a right to know how much their public officers are paid.

The attention of the committee was then directed to the report of the superintendent for the past year, and Mr. Hicks claimed that there were many items of expenses which had for some reason been omitted from the report. There were \$1,200 for flour, \$600 for cattle purchased, and \$2,200 for the superintendent's salary. Mr. Hicks next dwelt upon the fact that the superintendent is the best-paid officer in the State of Connecticut, as, according to the best information, his salary is \$3,000 per year, with board and house furnished by the State ; also servants, horses, and carriages, — which

## HUMANE INSTITUTIONS

altogether make his salary as good as \$6,000 a year. If economy was to be practised at the State Reform School, here was the place to commence, instead of bragging of the fact that the superintendent economized by cutting down to \$500 a year the salary of the poor watchman, who watched three hundred and sixty-five nights of the year around the institution. Why, said Mr. Hicks, the judges of the Supreme Court of the State, who require many years of practice to fill honorably their places, get only \$4,000 a year, and pay their own board, furnish their own houses, and pay their travelling bills.

The next point reached was the internal management of the institution, and Mr. Hicks said he was prepared to prove that the boys had been oftentimes most severely and cruelly punished. In some instances the blood was drawn from their heads, and others had scars which they would take to the grave. This system of punishment was behind the age; much more could be accomplished by kind treatment, and by stimulating the boys with offers of extra play, rewards, and other inducements, than by such harsh discipline. It was a matter of record that Dr. Hatch, who never feared the most stubborn boy, succeeded better by his genial and pleasant ways than if he resorted to the system of cruelties, which were wholly unknown until his successor was appointed. During the doctor's administration the rawhide and the

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hickory stick were seldom called into use, and the revolver and handcuffs never.

Mr. Hicks concluded by urging the committee to see that no officer who might be called on to testify, should suffer because he was a willing or unwilling witness in this investigation. If an officer came before this committee to testify, and he was a faithful man, anxious only to tell the truth and do justice to the State, it would be an outrage if his superior officer could injure him in his position. He (Mr. Hicks) believed the committee would protect the witnesses in this respect, in order that the whole truth might be known, and that the people of the State might know positively how the affairs of the Reform School are conducted.

## SPEECH TO THE REFORM SCHOOL COMMITTEE

### GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE:

IN 1854, in the administration of Hon. Thomas H. Seymour, the Legislature of this State founded an institution where our wayward boys might be cared for. For twenty years it went along, the pride and admiration of all, under the successful working of men like Little, Chamberlain, and others, whom my friend Platt has seen fit to traduce; and here I say, it ill becomes Platt to say anything against my friend, the editor of the "Meriden Republican," a man the influence of whose paper has always been cheerfully given to every good cause, as Platt very well knows.

But Graham is nothing, Little is nothing, Platt is nothing, neither am I anything, compared with the welfare of the boys in this institution. I have said, gentlemen, for twenty years, that the Reform School was a model; yet in two short years its usefulness was destroyed. Platt says it was caused by the disaffection of Little and Chamberlain, and that the Legislature last year settled the matter by appointing additional trustees. Let us see.

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The investigating committee reported that had the trustees of that year attended to their business, a better state of things would have existed. They said Ingham was totally unfit for the place, was no disciplinarian, and had a bad temper. Then my friend Mr. Cocks, who had been around during the whole investigation, besought the committee not to disgrace the trustees. Senator Briggs, the chairman of the committee, rose in his place in the Senate, and said that every one of the trustees and Ingham should be turned out of office.

This is how it ended, if my friend Platt wants to know. Ingham pleaded hard with them to give him a chance. He got it. Old officers who had grown gray in the service were turned out, and Ingham was left to select his own officers. Then he was to have peace and harmony. But these officers are swearing against him, and he is denouncing them as conspirators. This is the order he brought out of chaos. Gentlemen, it is said that we are here persecuting Mr. Ingham, which is false. We are here believing we owe something to the State, that it may not continue to be disgraced by such atrocities as have been recounted in your presence.

I think, gentlemen, that I voice the sentiment of the people of this State, when I say that Edward Ingham has no mortgage on the State. The State owes him nothing. Ingham is disqualified by his physical nature from superintending this institu-

## REFORM SCHOOL COMMITTEE

tion ; he stands before you a monument to dyspepsia, — fretty and crabbed. He is not to blame. He is as God made him. Yet none of you, gentlemen, would give him charge of your factory ; you would not put him over your own boys ; and surely you will not keep him in charge of these three hundred friendless boys. A bigger lie, a falser claim, a more monstrous proposition than that a conspiracy existed, was never fabricated to trump up the defence. He has discharged forty-two officers, and he would have us believe that all these people are wrong, conspiring against him, while he is all affable and pleasant. Look, gentlemen, at the treatment of these boys. Who wants his son, who wants his dog even, treated as has been testified to here ? You give your cattle some bedding and a warm place to sleep. Now, gentlemen, it is better that these boys should be allowed to wander over and <sup>among</sup> ~~about~~ the hills, than subjected to the inhuman barbarities sworn to here. And yet Mr. Platt finds the convenient way of charging all the trouble at the school to my friend Graham and the old officers of the school.

I would like to say more if I had the time ; but being limited, I will now close.

## SPEECH

*Delivered in Judge Waldo's Memory.*

THE entire bar of Hartford County met Monday, and suitable resolutions on the death of Judge Waldo were offered by Hon. Henry C. Robinson. Some unequalled tributes to his memory were offered by Governor Hubbard, Senator Eaton, Ratcliffe Hicks, Judge Calhoun, Messrs. Mahlon, R. West, William R. Cone and Charles Perkins. Mr. Hicks's remarks, which were terse, fitting, and eloquent, were as follows:—

WE meet to commemorate the death of a good man. I do not believe in unreasonable and indiscriminate eulogy; I will not bestow unmerited praise upon the dead to please the living.

I have known Judge Waldo ever since I knew anybody. He was my preceptor; and I treasure, as one of the legacies of my earthly pilgrimage, the acquaintance and friendship of that good man. Greater lawyers have practised at the bar, and more learned judges have adorned the bench of this State; but in some things Loren P. Waldo was the peer of any man that I ever knew. He was an honorable lawyer and an honest judge. In one branch of the law he had, perhaps, no



## JUDGE WALDO'S MEMORY

superior in the State in the construction of our statutes. He was a born gentleman. He was a man of kind and gentle sympathies. He ever had a pleasant and courteous bearing toward all men, and especially in his intercourse with the younger members of the bar. He dies at the close of a long, eventful, and honorable life, with his honors thick upon him. He leaves, as a heritage to his family, kindred, and friends, that best of all worldly things, reaching from earth to heaven, — an unsullied reputation and an untarnished name. We shall all miss his wise counsel, we shall long mourn his death, and we shall always respect his memory. Peace be to his ashes !



## **CORRESPONDENCE**



## THE CITY OF MERIDEN

*An editorial in the "Meriden Recorder,"*

*July 3, 1867.*

**M**ERIDEN is a city ! Thanks be to the united and harmonious action of her citizens. To-day this community occupies a prouder position than was ever vouchsafed to it before. To-day Meriden takes her place among the sister cities of this ancient Commonwealth, and enters into a noble rivalry with them in all that adorns and makes precious the advancing civilization of the age.

What has been done, however, is but the creeping of the mewling infant. There are manly and vigorous steps yet to be taken, which will demand the best energies and the noblest impulses of her sons and daughters. There is work to be done ; there are sacrifices to be made ; there is tiresome and perplexing planning to be performed, — all these for the common weal and the common good of us all. As we do these things so will be meted unto us prosperity and renown, the sure rewards of high-born principles, an exalted conduct, and a never-tiring activity.

Something needs to be done to make clean the streets ; to remove all nauseous and unhealthy

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substances; to lay sidewalks; to erect street lamps; to introduce water; to establish a fire department; to preserve order; to maintain a proper observance of the Sabbath; to build neat and commodious public buildings; to clear out the manufacturing from the only public building the town can boast, as the Saviour drove out the money-changers from the temple; and to do many other things without which this village must forever wallow like a duck in its own mire. These things cannot be done in a moment; it will take years to accomplish them all. Yet now is the time to lay, deep and broad, the foundations of this rising community; and the work upon the superstructure will never cease, until in the fulness of time, in the ages ahead, this city of Meriden shall have reached her crowning height, and like the cities of the plain begun to moulder back into oblivion.

Meriden has placed herself in the lists, and should now gather all her strength, her natural resources, and her mechanical power for the great contest that lies before her. Every citizen should feel it his duty to do all that lies in his power to increase the prosperity, to add to the beauty and attractions, and to foster an enlightened culture among the people of the city of Meriden.

"Honor and shame from no condition rise;  
Act well your part, — there all the honor lies."

R. H.

## THE CITY ATTORNEYSHIP

*Letter explaining the True Cause of his Removal from that Office. Published in the "Meriden Republican," Nov. 11, 1870.*

### TO MY FELLOW-CITIZENS:

I DISLIKE newspaper controversy, but I feel that I should perhaps be doing injustice to my many kind friends in this city if I did not put within their reach a full answer to all the foolish slanders which are being circulated against my good name and character. To my mere removal from office I should make no objection through the columns of a public newspaper; but when my character is assailed through the public print, I feel bound to vindicate it. I leave the members of the Common Council to reply, if they see fit, to the insults which have been cast upon them.

As to the charge of malfeasance in bringing several complaints against one James Turner and wife, keepers of a house of ill-fame on Colony Street, and against the persons found in this house when the officers made their descent upon it, I have this much to say. This low, vile den of iniquity, situated right in the heart of the city,

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in one of the principal streets, and within a stone's throw of many of the finest residences in the city, had been loudly complained of both to me and to the police officers for many months. The policemen had spent many nights in watching the house in the vain hope of establishing a successful prosecution against the inmates; and when, finally, through the instrumentality of one of the inmates, who turned state's evidence (not because there was one complaint against him, but because there were three in all, which would send him to jail for many months), I was able to commence a successful prosecution against the inmates, I determined to bring complaints for the several different crimes which the statute has defined, and of which I believed these parties were guilty, and for which they were both to be punished, so that if I failed to get a conviction on some of the complaints for want of sufficient evidence or other cause, I might succeed on others,—and so I hoped to rid this community of this long-standing pest. I do not think any reasonable man or woman ought to blame me for my conduct in this affair.

The city received \$41.54, and paid out \$34, including my fees and all expenses in the cases brought in connection with this house of ill-fame; so that the city really made \$7.46, besides ridding itself of a disgraceful nuisance. If I had brought only one or two complaints and failed to get a conviction on them, the city would have been



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obliged to pay the bills, and would have received nothing for it. The prisoner paid Mr. Charles H. Shaw \$50 for defending him, and he paid Mr. O. H. Platt in addition,—how much, I do not know. I tried the case alone, and got \$32.96 for my services; and if any man thinks the city paid too much for its counsel, and begrudges me my money, I say to him that hereafter he is welcome to all such disgusting prosecutions. For my part, I would rather be doing something else; it would be more in accordance with a man's better feelings.

On page 21, section 45, of the city charter you find these words: "Said police court may reduce or disallow fees taxable by said court in cases where the negligence of any ministerial officer, or the discharge of the accused for want of evidence, or the insufficiency of the service rendered, or other circumstances, shall render such restriction or disallowance expedient in the view of said court, in the exercise of its sound discretion." From this, every person will see that it was within the power of the judge to have reduced or disallowed my fees in these cases; and, further, that it was his duty as a sworn officer of the city, to have stopped the ~~payment~~ <sup>judgment</sup> to me of any unreasonable fees. Therefore, if, as it is alleged, I received unreasonable fees, the judge was guilty in allowing me to do so. I spoke to the judge at the time of the trial about having several complaints against the prisoners, and said that if he had any suggestions to

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make, I should like to have him make them. He said he thought I was warranted in bringing the complaints from the information I had received, although he did not think the evidence was strong enough to warrant the court in finding the parties guilty on all of the complaints.

On the day of my removal I asked the judge, at the request of some of my friends, for the reasons for my removal. He told me that he had no fault to find with me, that it was nothing I was to blame for ; but he said that there were certain assurances held out to him when he continued Mr. Levi E. Coe (for whose removal I have never heard any reason given than perhaps this) and myself in office which had not been fulfilled, and he did not feel disposed to continue us any longer in office. I asked him what those assurances were, and he would not tell me. Last July a person came into my office and said that he was authorized to say that I would be appointed city attorney if I would use my influence to secure his appointment to another office under the city government. I turned a cold shoulder on that person ; and ever since then he has vilified me in bar-rooms, saloons, and wherever he could get a listener, and has repeatedly threatened that I should be removed from my office. And more than two weeks before I was removed, and more than two weeks before these cases were brought against Turner and his wife, it

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was announced by this man in a certain saloon in this city that I was soon to be removed.

It is four years this week since I came to Meriden, and there was only one kind hand stretched out to welcome me then, — Hon. O. H. Platt's. During these four years I have been astonished at the many kind offices and favors which the members of the city government and so many of the respectable citizens of this place have shown to me. I take this, the first fitting opportunity which I have ever had, to thank them ; and while it would not be appropriate for me to mention in the columns of a newspaper the long list of names of men in this place who, without distinction of party, at one time or another, have gone out of their way and left their own business and cares to do me some kind office, I have treasured up their names ; and whether I spend my days in this place or elsewhere, I shall ever hold in grateful remembrance the citizens of Meriden. I am conscious, in office or out of office, of having done as any man would have his son or brother do.

RATCLIFFE HICKS.

## THE STAFFORD DISASTER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COURANT":

THE appalling disaster at Stafford invokes the charitable benefactions of the people of this State. A vast amount of property has been annihilated, the important industries of the town have been crippled, and a thousand operatives who depend upon their daily labor for their daily bread have been thrown out of employment for the coming six months at least.

There is no insurance and no salvage to relieve the bitterness and suffering entailed by this great calamity, unless it wells up in the benevolent hearts of the people of Connecticut. Such calamities, either by flood or by fire, are liable to visit any community in this Commonwealth, and I for one believe that such calamities call for the active and practical assistance of the State government. Individual charities are limited and very often ill directed. The State, in administering its charities, can devise means much better calculated to accomplish the desired results, and it so scatters the burden that no one feels his portion. An appropriation of fifty thousand dollars would not pay for one-sixth of all the property lost, but would help

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the town to repair its roads and bridges, and support its unemployed operatives until they can find work, besides carrying encouragement to the manufacturers to rebuild their works and set their idle spindles whirling. This appropriation would be less than ten cents for every individual in this State ; and who would begrudge that amount of money for so good a cause ?

Again, there are eight dams to be rebuilt, and the people who own property or live below them have a right to know that they are this time to be properly constructed. Now is the time, if ever, for the State to intercede for their protection, for it will be too late after they are rebuilt. The inhabitants of the towns of Stafford, Tolland, Willington, Mansfield, Coventry, and Windham, the stockholders of the New London Northern Railroad, and the depositors in the Tolland and other savings-banks that hold mortgages on property in the wake of these dams have a deep interest in their proper construction. Millions of property and thousands of lives all over this State are depending on the stability of similar structures. This awful warning should not go by unheeded. There is no time to be lost. The Legislature should be at once convened. It costs nothing, as they are paid by the year ; and in one day they could finish this whole matter, and every man of them would say, "I was never engaged in any better business."

**RATCLIFFE HICKS**

The sublimest wisdom of the ages and the keynote of the Christian doctrine, as it comes reverberating through nineteen centuries, is embraced in these few words: "Do unto others as you would that they should do to you."

**RATCLIFFE HICKS.**

## THE JOHNSON TRIAL

EDITOR OF THE MERIDEN "REPUBLICAN":

DEAR SIR, — As the shortest way to answer many questions asked me daily, I send you the following statement.

On a day in the opening of the year 1872, a poor and friendless Swede, John Robert Johnson, came to the enterprising city of Meriden in search of employment. He found it as a mason. By one of those accidental events by which a man's future is made or unmade in this world, he obtained lodging in the house of a woman of brutal tastes and of a still more brutal heart. While at work, an unfortunate accident befell him. His right hand was nearly severed by a brass drain, and he was for many days unable to work. This woman, ready to coin her soul into money, refused him any longer food and lodging; and retaining his best clothes, and leaving him only his overalls and working clothes, she drove him, sick, penniless, and friendless, from her door, adding imprecation and abuse to her cruel treatment. Half famished, and with a wandering mind due to disease and trouble, he returned for the purpose of getting his clothing. He was set upon by this fiendish woman the very moment he opened

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the door, and under a wild impulse he struck her a blow which resulted in her death. It was a thing he had never designed to do, and a thing that never would have happened if this anomaly of her sex had not provoked and treated him as she did.

A celebrated French writer, Auguste Laugel, in his recent work, says that there is in every human breast something of the wild animal, — a something in every human creature which when driven to the verge of endurance, when crushed to the earth by cruel treatment, impels him to strike his persecutor. John R. Johnson is a human being, with human feelings and passions; and in an unguarded moment he committed an act which it would be unjust to punish him for by imprisonment during the remainder of his natural life.

On his first trial Johnson was charged with murder in the first degree, and convicted of that crime and sentenced to be hung. It appeared in evidence on the trial that on the day in question, being weak from sickness and hunger, he drank something which ordinarily would not have affected him, but which in his then condition made him crazy. It was claimed, in his behalf, that, as by the law murder in the first degree requires deliberation and premeditation, the jury had a right to take into consideration the fact of his intoxication in arriving at a conclusion whether the act was committed with deliberation and premeditation. The court said that drunkenness was no excuse for crime,



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and that it was not to be considered by the jury. The Supreme Court, however, subsequently decided that the fact of intoxication should go to the jury, and that it was for them to say whether the man was so intoxicated that he could not have premeditated and deliberated concerning the act, but did it unconsciously. This was the first time that this eminently wise and just doctrine was ever proclaimed by the Supreme Court of this State, or of any New England State. The want of this doctrine has in Connecticut sent more than one unfortunate victim to an untimely and unmerited grave ; and the enunciation of this intelligent Christian doctrine would have saved Gaffney, who suffered within two years on the gallows, in the city of Buffalo, for a crime he never knowingly committed.

On the second trial, John Robert Johnson was charged with murder in the second degree, was convicted, and sent to state-prison. On this trial it was claimed in his behalf, that, as malice is by law necessary to constitute the crime of murder in the second degree, and that without malice it was manslaughter, the jury should therefore have the right to consider the fact of drunkenness in determining whether the act was done with malice. Malice requires the use of the reasoning faculties, and the idiot and the insane — whether the insanity be caused by disease, opium, or rum — cannot be guilty of malice. In other States they have got round this by saying that the killing implies malice ;

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but the doctrine was scouted out of court in the recent case of Stokes, and the enunciation of this erroneous doctrine in the court below saved Stokes's life. The Supreme Court has refused Johnson a new trial, but on what grounds it is not yet known. The claim made in Johnson's case must, however, eventually become the law. It is a part of the code of Prussia, the Netherlands, and Austria; and however much we may boast of America, she follows in her laws the reforms in Europe, and rarely leads them.

But it is said that drunkenness is voluntary, and therefore no excuse; and so the courts have said for two hundred years. But was it any more voluntary with Johnson than with Mrs. Hess, who sold him the drink, knowing full well the effect it might have upon him. The result was to both of them unforeseen, unsought, and unpremeditated, and in the administration of law and justice that fact should be taken into consideration.

The ever present argument against this doctrine is founded on an unreasoning fear. The world will gradually learn, however, that it is the certainty of some punishment rather than the severity of an occasional punishment which deters men from crime. The people on the Continent of Europe are as anxious to preserve their lives as the people of Connecticut. It is the same argument that is urged against the abolition of capital punishment; but the statistics show that there are less murders

## JOHNSON TRIAL

in Rhode Island and Michigan since the abolition of capital punishment than there were before. The time will come when the people of this country will look back upon capital punishment and the scenes enacted in the execution of it with the same disgust and shame that we, of our day, do upon those foolish fanatics who once hung men and women for being witches, in order to protect society. It is no benefit to the dead to crucify the living ; and it is no protection to the living to enforce a punishment which the rich and powerful hardly ever suffer, but the poor and friendless rarely escape. Hanging brutalizes the community, and too often only attests the inhumanity of mankind to man. The onward march of events for two hundred years has eradicated a thousand evils and wrongs which the barbaric progenitors of the English race had incorporated into the English jurisprudence. And time will work wonderful changes yet. The man who thinks that the laws of America are perfect and will never be improved, is filling his own eyes with sand.

I have done what I could under our present laws to alleviate the condition of an unfortunate man to whose defence I have been assigned ; and I trust that the kind Providence that tempers the winds to the shorn lamb will move the hearts of all good people to assist in relieving John Robert Johnson from suffering the extremity of his punishment.

RATCLIFFE HICKS.

## A SOUTHERN TRIP

*From the "Bridgeport Farmer," March 13, 1893.*

HON. RATCLIFFE HICKS, of Tolland, not only makes good speeches in the House of Representatives upon any subject in which he takes a particular interest, but he has also the faculty, when travelling, of writing entertaining sketches. Mr. Hicks is now at Lakewood, N. J., having returned last week from an extended Southern tour. By reason of his large real-estate and other interests he is well known in this city, and the two following letters written by him will be read with interest : —

EL PASO, TEXAS, Feb. 24, 1893.

AFTER leaving New York, I made my first stop at Atlanta. Every time I visit Atlanta I am more impressed with the city. It is a Northern city transplanted in Southern soil.

I went from Atlanta to New Orleans, which I found had greatly improved in the last five years and showed signs of considerable prosperity. The establishment of large sugar refineries and cotton-mills has been of great benefit to the place. The United States government pays annually about \$8,000,000 in sugar bounties to planters, and there

## A SOUTHERN TRIP

are less than one hundred persons who divide this money ; but this has been of much help to the State of Louisiana. There are many beautiful residences, and the city seemed particularly attractive after leaving the wintry climate of New York City. Flowers were in bloom. Men were cutting the lawns, and the gardens were like our own in June.

I went from New Orleans to San Antonio ; and as this was all new to me, I was wonderfully impressed with the country through which I passed. The magnificent fields where they raise their sugar-cane and rice reminded me of the fields in France, — so level, so rich, and so extensive. They are now in the height of their planting, and their weather is like ours in June.

The forests are very interesting to observe, the trees being covered with moss, giving them a weird appearance. The ground is covered with the low palms which we prize so much in the North in our hot-houses ; and the leaves of the trees having so many different colors — red, white, green, and different shades of green and red — made it all look exceedingly interesting to a Northern man.

San Antonio certainly possesses the best climate of any place that I ever visited in my travels. It is far superior to that of Nice or Naples, or to any spot in Europe or the West Indies or America which I have seen. The temperature was 75°, but it was that dry air which does not cause perspiration ; it was the most exhilarating temperature

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that I have ever experienced. They are happy if they can get two days of rain in the year, for it is almost one continuous sunshine with them. It seemed strange that on Washington's Birthday, when you were suffering from such violent storms, people should be walking and driving in San Antonio in weather equal to that of our best summer seasons.

I came on last night to El Paso, and am not impressed favorably with the place. It is much cooler here, is windy and very dusty, and there are no signs of vegetation apparent at present.

I never before could realize the magnitude of the State of Texas. You can travel as far as from New York to Chicago, and then go two hundred miles farther before you cross the State of Texas, — a State which in fifty years is liable to have anywhere from fifty to seventy-five or perhaps one hundred Congressmen, and to equal in Washington the power of ~~all the other~~ thirteen original States. A State that is larger than New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New Jersey, with a climate so favorable to the growth of the population, and a soil so favorable to its support, has in it possibilities that are marvellous when you come to think of them soberly. It only needs time and double-track railroads and speedy communication with Chicago and New York and Philadelphia, connecting those places by twenty-four or thirty-six hours, to bring this coun-

## A SOUTHERN TRIP

try to the notice of the Northern people more than has ever yet been done.

DENVER, March 1, 1893.

THE day I wrote you from El Paso it was very windy, and rather disagreeable on account of the dust; but the next day was extremely pleasant, and the people all said that the previous day was an exception. I liked El Paso the more I saw of it, especially the climate, as it was considerably higher than at San Antonio, and the atmosphere was drier and more exhilarating. I bought some bank stock when there which pays twelve per cent per annum, and earns about twenty per cent.

I went over into Mexico and visited the city of Juarez. It is a real Mexican city, and in visiting it one gets a very good idea of the Mexicans. I am frank to say that I was not favorably impressed with the Mexicans or their country. They are about two hundred years behind the times, and, in my opinion, always will be.

This land from San Antonio to El Paso suffers greatly from want of water, and I never realized before the importance or the magnitude of the undertaking to irrigate that vast section of country. There are thousands of miles of land capable of wonderful development in the future when water has been provided by some feasible system of irrigation. It is calculated that thirty thousand cattle have perished in the last year between San Antonio

## RATCLIFFE HICKS

and El Paso from thirst, and it is a pitiful sight to see the cattle all along the railroad suffering and perishing from the same cause.

One word more about the magnitude of the State of Texas. It has over nine thousand miles of railroad. To get an idea of what those figures mean, — its railroads if stretched in a continuous line would reach across the Atlantic Ocean three times ; or, to express it in another way, they would reach from Liverpool to New York, across the prairies and mountains to San Francisco, and across the Pacific Ocean to Japan.

Leaving El Paso, we came up on the Santa Fé road through New Mexico, — a country suffering, as I have indicated heretofore, from want of water, and inhabited very largely by Mexicans living in little adobe or earth houses one story high, and giving poor promise of becoming good American citizens and voters.

I stayed at Colorado Springs one night. I presume it is a beautiful place in summer. It is finely laid out, and is in a mountainous country with fine natural scenery, and is largely inhabited by wealthy people. I visited the Garden of the Gods, and was not so much impressed as I expected to be. After going over the Canadian Pacific and across the mountains on the Santa Fé road, and having visited most of the mountainous countries of Europe, the Garden of the Gods seems to me to be largely overwritten.



## A SOUTHERN TRIP

I came thence to Denver. There seems to me to be only two cities in the West, — Chicago and Denver. To hear the people tell of the wonderful fortunes accumulated here in a short space of time sounds like a novel; but they confirm their statements by showing you the people and the property, and you finally have to confess that more and larger fortunes have been acquired in Denver and vicinity in the last ten or twenty years than in any other place on the globe. They show you property which belonged to a lady here some fifteen years ago, left to her and appraised at \$2,200, which sold recently for \$125,000. They show you lots which sold a few years ago at \$400, and now sell quickly at \$4,000. They show you a corner lot owned by a Connecticut lady which was sold eight years ago for \$40,000, soon after sold for \$80,000, a few months later for \$120,000, and about a year ago for \$235,000! I give these as simply specimens of the wonderful advance in property in this city. I have never seen or known anything like it; and why any young man, be he lawyer, doctor, physician, dentist, or business man, stays down East is beyond my comprehension,—that is, if he cares to accumulate a fortune and be in the swim.

It is estimated that there are over one hundred millionaires in Denver, a place of one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants,—which is probably more than there are in all Connecticut, with seven

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hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants and two hundred years of savings.

I have had one or two propositions made me here to go into large real-estate transactions ; but while I think there is lots of money in them, I have finally made up my mind to keep out of them, for I can see that it will make for me more work. I have purchased some bank stock here, however, as a kind of souvenir of the place. It pays eight per cent annually on cost, and also pays the taxes. I am very favorably inclined towards the banks of Colorado as an investment. I find that they are making a great deal of money, much more than similar institutions in the East can make, and they seem to make it safely and to be well managed. I think it a grand thing for every man having money to invest to visit the West and see for himself this country and the opportunities for making money, even if he does not care to try it himself.

R. H.

## A CONDENSED HISTORY OF BERMUDA.

*Letter to the "Meriden Republican."*

HAMILTON, BERMUDA, April 21, 1875.

DEAR REPUBLICAN, — Judge Sumner and myself arrived here Monday morning, having been one day longer on the voyage than we had expected. We were both of us somewhat sea-sick the first day or two out. Sumner kept calling for oranges, and he told John (the little Welshman that waited on us) to tell the steward not to be discouraged: he was only trying to lay a foundation in his stomach to put something substantial on.

The hotel at Hamilton, where we are stopping, is kept by Mr. Dodge, who in the summer keeps the hotel at the top of Mount Washington. The accommodations at the hotel are very good, and the charge is three dollars per day.

The Bermudas are a group of about three hundred islands, distant from New York about seven hundred miles, and on a latitude with Charleston, S. C. The group of islands extend thirty miles, and by means of ferries and bridges you can drive

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nearly the whole length of the group. In the harbors lie one hundred little islands which make one think of Lake George. We have been driving around the islands for the past four days. The first thing that attracts the attention of a stranger from New England is the vegetation. The first day or two we did nothing but stop the driver and inquire, "What is that tree?" There are growing here India-rubber, date, cocoanut, lemon, orange, palmetto, coffee, bamboo, fig, tamarind, and many other kinds of trees. The streets are lined with a very homely-looking tree. They call it the "Pride of India."

The next thing which attracts attention are the wonderful caves, containing beautiful pools of water, with splendid specimens of stalactites hanging from the roofs. Then there are forts and dockyards. This is the largest military and naval station of the English government, except Malta. It is estimated that the English have spent as high as \$500,000,000 here in all. The dockyards are enormous, and every hill is crowned with a fortification. The English undoubtedly regard this as a key to their Western possessions, and a valuable spot in case of war with us.

There are about twenty thousand inhabitants on the islands. Their principal business is raising vegetables for the American market. They can raise every year two or three crops of onions, potatoes, tomatoes, watermelons, squashes, beans, and all our

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varieties of vegetables. Their principal export now is onions. They could, if they were as enterprising as our New England farmers, raise a large quantity of all kinds of vegetables for export to New York. I asked one colored man, who was gathering onions in a field, how much he would get for his crop this year. He said \$2,000. The two races live here on the most perfect good terms. The blacks outnumber the whites three to one. The blacks vote and hold office, the same as the whites; but no man can vote unless he is worth \$300.

Bermuda is governed by a little parliament of its own. The climate is one of the best in the world. Water never freezes. They have no fires in their houses, and sit out doors the year round. In summer it is not very warm. Sunstrokes are unknown, and thunder-showers are rare. A lightning-rod man would be a great curiosity here, as they have none. The place has a Spanish look. The houses are mostly one-story, built of soft stone, resembling chalk, sawed out in blocks; the roofs are of the same material. They have no wells, as the island is all a solid rock. They save their rain-water, and keep it in large covered stone-cisterns in their yards. The buildings and roofs are all whitewashed. The roads are as hard as rock. The soil is rarely more than a foot deep anywhere, and they use the spade instead of the plough. The islands are of oval formation, and are surrounded by reefs extending eight or ten miles out to sea; so that it

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is very dangerous approaching them, and nearly every week some ship is wrecked because the captain does not know the channel.

There is no doubt that these islands will be more and more visited from year to year by Americans. It is only within four or five years that a steamer has been regularly running here from New York. As the beauty of the islands and the salubrity of the climate become known, and the ease of access increases, Americans will flock here instead of going to Florida. The fare from New York here and back is \$50, which includes everything. We shall leave here in about a week.

Yours very truly,

RATCLIFFE HICKS.

## PROPOSED REDUCTION

*Of the Rate of Interest to be Charged by Savings Banks and the School Fund, 1880.*

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CONNECTICUT LEGISLATURE:

THERE is an act pending before your Committee on Banks which is worthy of your serious consideration. It is the proposed reduction in the rate of interest to be charged by Savings Banks and the School Fund. It concerns more directly the interests of your constituents than any and all other legislation pending before your body.

It is a question which you are compelled to meet. Are you going to vote on the side of wisdom, of justice, and of relief to the already overburdened land-holders of the State; or are you going to allow capital to take advantage of its power to wrench undue returns from the struggling property-holders of Connecticut? If you fail in your duty, another Legislature will right the wrong. This question is now being agitated by the voters, and will not down until it is righted.

What are the facts?

1. No man to-day can safely invest his money where it will earn more than from four to five per

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cent net. In a late number of the "Financial Chronicle" a comparison is made between the value of representative stocks and bonds at the same dates in 1872 and in 1880, and shows that upon an average the purchaser would realize from six to eight per cent on his capital in 1872, and that he realizes only from  $3\frac{1}{4}$  to  $4\frac{1}{4}$  per cent now. Will you, then, compel the honest, industrious masses of this State to pay six per cent when they furnish the best collateral security in the world,—the roof over their heads?

2. There is no prospect that the rate of interest will increase for many years, if ever.

(a) The West, which so long absorbed the money of the East, is no longer asking for loans. Good Western mortgages are readily taken at home.

(b) The legislation of the Western States is tending to drive Eastern capital away. In Illinois, last winter, a law was passed forbidding the taking of more than eight per cent interest, and also forbidding the mortgaging of land to trustees to secure bonds, thus hampering the future sale of Western loans. Again the Legislature of Illinois has forbidden all corporations located out of the State from holding land longer than five years; so that if such a corporation is obliged to foreclose its loans, it must sell the lands within five years.

(c) The ill-luck that has followed all persons who have loaned money at the West has taught the



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East a fearful lesson. Only fools and children are now caught with such investments. All safe and prudent men prefer four per cent where they know it is safe, to seven or eight per cent with an even chance that they may never see the principal again. Many a poor man has gone West to find that the land on which he held a mortgage was under water, or that the buildings had been moved off, or that the property was almost worthless and had been sold for taxes, and that what little was left no neighbors would buy or rent to help out an "Eastern shark," as they call the bondholder.

(d) The late decision of our United States Supreme Court in the case of the bonds of the city of Memphis has driven the last nail in the coffin of Western credit. The city owed a large sum of money; and as a short way to repudiate, they went to the Legislature of Tennessee and got an act passed wiping out the city charter. The United States Supreme Court last month said it was legal, and that the bondholder must lose everything. Any man who can buy a Western town, school district, city, or county bond after that decision has faith enough to move mountains. It was bad enough before. If you sued and obtained a decision against a town or city, the officers would all resign rather than pay the debt. But this crowns the infamy of Western credit.

(e) Money is bound to be cheap. Within two years more than three hundred millions of dollars

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of new money have been added to the currency of America, and our currency is that much larger than it was two years ago. The wildest dream of a Greenbacker never looked for such an inflation of our currency as we have to-day. So long as every man is permitted to dig gold and carry it to the mint and have it coined, and put it into circulation without limit, you may look for cheap money and plenty of it.

(f) The ease with which money is transferred from European centres to America by telegraph and otherwise, the agencies which large European houses have established in America will tend to keep the rate of money in New York on a par with that in Europe. There is going to be more nearly an equilibrium in money the world over than formerly. The ways of doing business are changing, and money runs after investment. Three thousand miles to-day is no more than two hundred miles was fifty years ago. If money is dear at any place, it pours in there until the price comes near to a level with that of other places. The rate of interest in France is four per cent ; in England, three and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent ; in Germany,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Our own government contemplates issuing a three per cent bond, and that is about all a four per cent bond nets to-day. Of course, money will be dear in new and barbarous countries, but we in New England are getting to be an old and civilized country.

## REDUCTION OF INTEREST

(g) There is no business to-day that pays, on an average, more than four or five per cent net income. Banking, insurance, manufacturing, and agriculture do not pay on the average more than four per cent, after paying all expenses and taxes. Of course, some branches pay more, but some pay much less. I am speaking of the average. Manufacturing is overdone, and the country cannot furnish a market for any increase in our manufactures. Manufacturers are not going to demand much more money than they are now using.

3. The rate of interest should correspond with the annual return of property, which is between four and five per cent. As matters stand to-day, no man can afford to borrow money on real estate, keep it in repair, pay the taxes and insurance, and pay more than five per cent. If borrowers pay more for a series of years, they are carrying a burden which will, sooner or later, bury the majority of them in poverty.

4. It was said in 1876, when you reduced the rate of interest from seven to six per cent, that depositors would draw out their money; but such has not proved to be the result. Now, if you reduce the rate of interest to five per cent, so that banks can only declare  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to  $4\frac{3}{4}$  per cent dividends, the money will not be drawn out. The profit which the banks make by collecting the money in advance ought nearly to pay the expenses and taxes. No individual can invest his money

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where it can earn more than four per cent. If he gets more than four per cent, he takes the risk that may wipe out his principal. Large trust-estates are loaning money in Connecticut for a term of years at five per cent, and absorbing some of our best bank-mortgages. Savings Banks in Massachusetts and New York State are loaning money at five per cent. Individuals in this State are loaning here cheerfully at  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Savings Banks in this State are occasionally loaning money on the sly at five per cent. If it is left with the banks to fix the rate, a few favorites or influential parties will get their money at five per cent, while the great mass of borrowers, less sharp and conniving, will have to pay the old rates.

5. It is for the interest of the depositors in Savings Banks that the rate of interest on loans should be reduced. The lower the rate, the better security you can command. Depositors in a Savings Bank do not want to have the bank lose its best real-estate loans, and have only the fag ends left. Again, depositors in Savings Banks ought to tremble when they see how much of this money is being invested in New York city bank-stock and in Western railroad mortgages, — most hazardous securities. Some of them are going to fail, — human foresight cannot prevent it; and if only one in ten of such investments fail, it reduces the income of the total investments below five per cent.

## REDUCTION OF INTEREST

6. A Savings Bank needs prosperous and healthy borrowers as much as it needs depositors. Remember that a vast majority of the borrowers invested their money in real estate, which has shrunk one hundred per cent in value, while the present amount of their loan remains the same. A reduction in the rate of interest would enhance the value of real estate, and so enable Savings Banks to unload much of the real estate on their hands.

7. Savings Banks in this State, not knowing what to do, have invested largely in Government bonds, which net them only about three per cent. The Savings Banks have to-day a million of money on deposit which they do not know what to do with. If the rate was made five per cent, it would be loaned at home. The true policy is to encourage people to borrow money from Savings Banks, build homes, and add to the wealth of the State. Why should not the honest, hard-working people of Connecticut borrow the money from Savings Banks at five per cent, instead of investing the deposits in New York bank-stock, in Western railroad and in Government bonds? Is it policy to drive all the money we can out of the State?

It seems as if the true policy ought to be to keep in our own State all the money that we can, and to give the people of Connecticut the use of the money at as low a rate as we loan out of the State.

8. Most Savings Banks are declining deposits for the very reason that they cannot invest them.

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By so doing, they are defeating the object for which they were created ; namely, to provide a safe place where poor and ignorant people can invest their small earnings. If this state of affairs lasts much longer, the government ought to, and will, establish a postal savings-bank for the benefit of poor people.

9. Many Savings Banks are contemplating lowering the rate to five per cent ; but they are afraid to do so for fear that they may lose temporarily some of their depositors. If it is made uniform, then no bank will have any advantage over another on account of its location or size. Small banks located in growing places have great advantages over some of our older and wealthy Savings Banks.

10. It should be a law that Savings Banks shall not pay more than four per cent on all deposits over \$2,000. They then could easily pay five per cent on all deposits less than that sum. Large deposits are made by wealthy people to escape taxation ; and this is all wrong.

11. No man can afford to borrow money of a Savings Bank to-day and invest it in business. The laws of business have set a limit to the avarice of the capitalist ; and if the Legislature of this State overrides those laws, and exacts a rate of interest above the amount that the borrower can afford to pay, it only exhausts the security of the bank, and finally swamps in one common misfortune borrower and lender.

## REDUCTION OF INTEREST

12. This question comes properly before your body. You are the custodians and managers of the Savings Banks of this State, and the sole manager of the School Fund. You have said in the past, and you must say in the future, how they shall be managed. The safety of the bank, the security of the depositor, the welfare of the borrower, the good name of the State are all at stake, and in your hands for keeping. You are the final arbiter between the borrower and the lender ; and it is for you to say what, under all circumstances, is the fair rate of savings-bank interest in this State. The poor people of Connecticut, who have mortgaged their homes and their very lives to the Savings Banks, can only look to you for justice. They cannot pay off their loans, they cannot change them, they are tied hand and foot ; and they ask that they shall be compelled to pay only that rate of interest which, with the taxes, insurance, and repairs, is a fair and just remuneration to the borrower. They do not expect to borrow money as cheap as the millionaire can ; but, like the Land League of Ireland, they believe in the motto "Live and let live."

The reports of the Bank and School Fund Commissioners this year point out the necessity for this proposed reduction in the rate of interest.

## LETTER OPPOSING JURY TRIALS

(1878)

*From the "Meriden Republican."*

I REGRET to see that an effort is being made to take away from a prisoner the privilege of being tried by the court. The Legislature of 1878 may turn back a little the wheels of progress, but some succeeding Legislature will certainly re-enact the law with still greater privileges to the accused. Every thoughtful, conscientious citizen glories in the fact that Connecticut gives to every accused man all reasonable opportunities to prove his innocence. It permits him to tell his own story in court; it furnishes him with counsel, and gives him the closing argument. It is better that ten guilty men should escape than that one innocent man should suffer.

A case that cannot stand a fair investigation before an unprejudiced and intelligent court ought never to be tried. Now, it is proposed to give to every man who has a civil suit, which involves the honesty of a horse-trade, the right to elect whether he shall be tried by a judge or a jury; but when a man's life or liberty is at stake he is to have no



## LETTER OPPOSING JURY TRIALS

choice. If there is any force in the argument against the right of election, it is as good in one case as in the other. It only illustrates again what history so thoroughly teaches, — the inhumanity of man to man.

A trial by jury is a bequest of the Middle Ages, and was the invention of a people who were ground to earth by despotic rulers and unprincipled judges, the lackeys and appointees of those rulers. It was then a bulwark of protection to the people; but in a free government, where the judges are above suspicion and are appointed by the people, a jury trial is a wart on the body politic, which the good sense and experience of the American people will soon cauterize and eradicate.

Every argument is in favor of a trial before a court made up of intelligent and unprejudiced lawyers, who carefully note all the evidence, conscientiously weigh every point, intelligently consider all the legal questions involved, and coolly state the reasons for the conclusion to which they have come. The jury cannot carry in their minds the evidence in a case lasting several days. Oftentimes some witness who happens to make a bad appearance, and some prejudice that the jury may have against the party or their counsel, are the turning points in the case. Jury lawyers are not generally selected for their great learning or known probity, but because they are consummate blackguards, and can keep a courtroom in a titter; because they are prominent

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politicians in the country, and are supposed to have friends in the panel; because they possess attractive manners, and know the thousand and one little points practised in the court-room and out to win the favorable opinion of the jury. Everybody knows that a railroad company, an insurance company, a municipal corporation, a man against a winsome woman, stands no chance before a jury, twelve butchers of the law, and the evidence. It is provided that they are not bound to submit to a jury trial; but is the question of man's life or liberty of less consequence?

Instead, then, of repealing this wise provision, the Legislature of 1878 ought to take steps to wipe from the laws of the State every provision for preserving a trial by jury; for it is a relic of the feudal ages, for which we have no use in these modern times. It is a legal snare, and it is gambling for justice at a sacrifice of the rights and liberties of the citizen. It is of the earth, earthy, and belongs to the age of the javelin and the bow.

RATCLIFFE HICKS.

## A TAX-PAYER ON CONSOLIDATION

*From the "Meriden Republican."*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "REPUBLICAN":

LET us make a last appeal to all voters to come out on Monday to vote for consolidation. The ballot-box will be open from 8 A. M. until 5 P. M., at the Town Hall. The friends of the measure are in a large majority, and will prove it if they will only come out to vote. The great danger is that the friends of the measure will not take the pains to vote. Therefore we urge every man who has the best interests of Meriden at heart to vote for consolidation. It will result in a great saving to the town. It will put the management of our schools into the hands of a permanent board of our best citizens. It will improve the character of our schools. It is doing just what the Legislature will compel every town in the State to do within ten years.

A well-developed system of public schools is worth everything to Meriden. You have no system now. They say that it means a high school. We do not expect to see a high school in our day, but it is just what Meriden needs. The boys and girls

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of Meriden need just as good public schools as any city, unless you expect your children will only dig roads, build cellar-walls, and do housework. The only way to give your children a good start in life is to give them a good education. Not all your churches, not all your factories, will do one-half as much to attract men of enterprise and wealth to your city as would a first-class school. Men are working to-day in Meriden and living in New Haven and Hartford, because they want to give their children the best school advantages. Every poor man should vote for consolidation, for he cannot afford to send children to Hartford to school. And still voters are howling round the streets that if you vote for consolidation it will result in having one or two schools of a high grade and dispensing with the great number of departments in the smaller schools. That is just what ought to be done. The smaller schools are graded to death. The men who bring up such arguments belong to the past generations. Consolidation has worked well wherever adopted. The few men who desire to defeat it are circulating a lot of foolish stories of what will be done if this law is passed. All these stories are false, and they know it. They have more fears and foolish imaginations than any woman ever had at childbirth.

Tax-payers of Meriden, friends of poor men and patrons of schools, vote for consolidation next Monday !

A TAX-PAYER.

## NEW HAVEN COUNTY COM- MISSIONERS

*From the "Meriden Republican."*

THE report of the majority of the Committee appointed to investigate the affairs of New Haven County, as a specimen of political prejudice and perversion, is without parallel in the history of this State. Failing to prove the surreptitious appropriation of a single dollar of the county money, the majority of the Committee seek by false innuendoes and unfair influences to injure the reputation of these county commissioners, and ask for their removal on evidence on which no decent man would hang his dog.

1. As to the removal of August Williams, the report of the minority of the committee — R. W. Newhall, Esq., of Middletown, law-partner of Judge Culver — shows that there were many reasons for his removal; and it recommends that the question of the legality of his removal be tested by the courts to which Williams has already appealed.

2. It is not claimed that the evidence shows that Commissioners Birdsey and Lake ever ap-

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propriated a dollar dishonestly ; but the majority of the committee say that a certain record-book is missing, and that therefore it is fair to presume that these men have stolen it to cover up their defalcations. It is just as fair to presume that some of the men who for twelve months have pursued the commissioners with bloodhound ferocity have taken it away (for it was within their reach) and then have charged it on the commissioners ; we have heard of such things being done before. The height of Commissioner Birdsey's offence is that for three months he deposited small sums of county money in his own name in the bank ; but he refunded every dollar of it four months before any investigation was ever proposed. Dr. Hatch, all the time he was superintendent of the Reform School, kept and deposited the State's money in his own name in the bank. As to all the charges for services, these commissioners followed in the footsteps of their Republican predecessors, or took the legal advice of Judge Stoddard of New Haven. If they sinned, they sinned unwittingly and not wittingly ; and to punish Birdsey for their action is akin to that infernal doctrine which robbed heaven of the presence of unbaptized infants. We do not believe that the Republicans of this Legislature can be induced so far to ignore their manhood as to remove these commissioners upon mere inference to satisfy the relentless animosity of a few men whom they have offended by their official

## NEW HAVEN COUNTY COMMISSIONERS

action, and it remains to be seen whether honest men propose to indulge in this scalping warfare.

The Constitution has provided a way to remove dishonest officers of the State ; to wit, by impeachment. We know of only two ways by which they can be removed : one is by impeachment, and the other is by abolishing the office. It is a fair inference that when the State has provided a way to remedy a wrong, you are to pursue that way.

In two States of the Union a resolution similar to the one submitted in this case, and under similar constitutional provisions, has been declared by the Supreme Courts of those States unconstitutional and void, and nowhere can be found a case that supports the legality of this proceeding. We have no doubt as to what will be the decision of our Supreme Court if this question ever comes before it ; for if this action is legal, it opens the door to political anarchy and unhinges the safeguards of society. If all officers of the State — like bank, insurance, railroad, and county commissioners — hold their offices subject to removal by every recurring Legislature, without a repeal of the law under which their offices were created and by the mere force of the prevailing argument of eight to seven, then the corner-stone upon which rests the safety of our political institutions is undermined. The majority are never obliged to give a reason for their action ; and it only needs some exciting cause, like another rebellion, to bring into

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play the use of this most dangerous and unconstitutional power. In my humble judgment there is only one claim on which this proposed action can be sustained ; it is the claim of the highwayman, that might makes right.

**RATCLIFFE HICKS.**



## SHALL SUPREME COURT JUDGES BE EXCUSED FROM CIRCUIT DUTY?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HARTFORD "TIMES":

I READ in your paper of the 8th a report signed by Mr. Hammersley, which was unfavorable to the proposed exempting of the Supreme Court judges from circuit duty. As I had the misfortune to introduce this resolution, I want to say a word in its defence, — not that I expect at this time to accomplish the desired result, but because I want to set the faces of this generation towards one of the improvements which, though defeated to-day, is sure to come in the near future. Let me then summarize some of the arguments in favor of this proposed change.

1. Our Supreme Court is overworked. To hear and investigate patiently two hundred cases yearly is all that it can do conscientiously. To read the record, the briefs, and examine the authorities in two hundred cases, — that is, about one case in every working-day in the year, — is all that any court of five men can do. Besides this, the members must write their opinions, every word and

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every line of which are to be subjected thereafter to the most critical analysis.

2. Every year adds immensely to the labors of a judge in the multiplication of authorities and text-books. To be a good judge in the days of Zephaniah Swift, whose library consisted of a dozen books, and to be a good judge to-day is like the difference between a college one hundred years ago and a college to-day. One hundred years ago law was a matter of common-sense. To-day it is a question of analogy and of authorities.

3. Our present system necessarily causes great delays. The judges are often unable to investigate a case and prepare the opinion in less than a year after it is argued. This of course suspends the case for all that time, and entails great expense and trouble upon clients and attorneys. All such delays tend to bring the administration of law in this State into contempt with the driving business men of to-day.

4. We all want an unprejudiced court. We want every case to come to the Supreme Court untried and unheard by all its members. We do not want that judge who has tried our case on the circuit, and done what we believe to be an injustice to our clients, to sit on the Supreme Court bench or in the lobby or in the consulting-room when our case is being finally disposed of.

5. We want in every case the independent investigation and judgment of five judges. That

## CIRCUIT DUTY

is the number which the wisdom of the State has fixed upon, and that is the number we are entitled to and demand. Let the law create no excuse for the want of a full bench and a separate investigation in every case by five men. To be sure, you can call for a full bench ; but it is almost an insult to the four men sitting on the bench, and always causes delay. Most lawyers hesitate to do it.

6. The multiplication of courts—the creation of common pleas, district, and city courts—has in the last ten years largely increased the duties of the Supreme Court judges.

7. Practically the Supreme Court judges hold only a criminal term, or some unimportant civil term, recognizing among themselves that they ought not to be expected and do not desire to do circuit duty.

8. This change is demanded to-day ; and if on trial it shall be found that our Supreme Court judges suffer for the want of circuit duty, we can very easily return to the old antiquated custom.

I have heard only two arguments against the proposed change. One is that it is a great benefit to the judges to do circuit duty. I believe that that is all a humbug. No man knows as well as the judge himself whether or not he is benefited by circuit duty. Now, I think if this matter were left with the judges of the Supreme Court, they would vote unanimously that to do circuit duty is an intolerable nuisance, and of no appreciable benefit to themselves.

RATCLIFFE HICKS

The only other argument I have heard is that it tends to make them civil; that to do circuit duty serves as a sort of ~~instigation~~<sup>stimulation</sup> to keep the spirits of our Supreme Court judges humble, submissive, and peaceful.

Such arguments go well with a weak case.

R. H.

## BROWN UNIVERSITY PRIZES

NEW YORK, Jan. 28, 1891.

REV. E. B. ANDREWS,  
Brown University, Providence, R. I. :

DEAR SIR, — I have been thinking of offering prizes, amounting to fifty dollars each year, divided as follows : thirty-five dollars for the first, and fifteen dollars for the second, — for excellence in Junior Debating Competition. There is a similar system in Yale, which has recently, I believe, been opened to all members of the Junior Class.

I thought I would offer this for one year ; and if on trial it proves a success, I would offer to the University money enough to insure a continuance of the prizes in the future.

Please give me your impressions in this matter, and then I will decide what I shall do.

Yours respectfully,

RATCLIFFE HICKS.

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PROVIDENCE, Jan. 30, 1891.

MY DEAR MR. HICKS, — Your valued communication of the 28th inst. is at hand. Your proposi-

RATCLIFFE HICKS

tion is a most welcome one. Our young men need precisely the inducement which you suggest. The plan would give a support to the Junior work in speaking which is much needed, and which could not be secured in any other way. It will give me great pleasure to hear from you further in the premises.

Very truly yours,

E. BENJ. ANDREWS,  
*President Brown University.*

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President's Room, Brown University,

PROVIDENCE, R. I., June 12, 1891.

Received of Ratcliffe Hicks one New York and New England Railroad Company six per cent one thousand dollar bond (second mortgage), No. 4414, which he presents through me to the Corporation of Brown University, as the foundation of two yearly premiums or prizes for excellence in debate.

E. BENJ. ANDREWS.

## GIFT TO MERIDEN HIGH SCHOOL FUND

MERIDEN, CONN., March 23, 1894.

HON. RATCLIFFE HICKS:

DEAR SIR, — In behalf of the High School Committee I beg leave to thank you for your munificent gift of fifty dollars to be applied to the High School Fund.

Thirty-six essays are now in the hands of the Committee, from which seven will be selected to be read on Commencement Day for prizes.

We trust that you will be able to be present.

Respectfully,

CHAS. H. S. DAVIS.

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SARATOGA, Sept. 15, 1894.

DR. C. H. S. DAVIS, Meriden, Conn. :

DEAR SIR, — I wish to transfer to the proper Committee or person one thousand dollars in the Gold and Stock Telegraph Co., bearing six per cent interest, guaranteed by the Western Union Co. for ninety-nine years, in order to make permanent the

**RATCLIFFE HICKS**

prizes I have been giving from year to year to the Meriden High School. If you will tell me exactly to whom and how to transfer the bond and who will receipt for the same, I will instruct my secretary at Bridgeport to attend to the matter at once.

You may answer my letter to the address of 73 Warren Street, N. Y. City, Hicks Building.

Yours very truly,

**RATCLIFFE HICKS.**



## THE RATCLIFFE HICKS PRIZES IN THE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

SARATOGA, Sept. 15, 1894.

TREASURER AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, Storrs, Conn. :

DEAR SIR, — In order to make permanent the prizes I offered, I propose to transfer to the Treasurer of your College one thousand dollars in the Gold and Stock Telegraph Co., bearing six per cent interest, guaranteed by the Western Union Co. for ninety-nine years. This is to make permanent the Ratcliffe Hicks prizes.

Would it be proper if I had the bond transferred to the Treasurer of the College without mentioning any name as Treasurer ; and if not, how should the bond be transferred? As soon as I get a reply, I will instruct my Secretary to attend to the matter ; and I suppose that he can send it by express to Storrs, if it is not convenient for the Treasurer to call at my office in Bridgeport to receipt for same.

Yours truly,

RATCLIFFE HICKS.

## RATCLIFFE HICKS

STORRS, CONN., Nov. 3, 1894.

MR. RATCLIFFE HICKS, New York :

DEAR SIR, — The bonds which you directed the Canfield Rubber Co., Bridgeport, to send to the College are received, and I have placed them in my safe, and will communicate with the Trustees and place them at their disposal. I suspect that they will want to put them in some safer place even than our supposed fire-proof safe.

In behalf of the institution and all concerned, I express to you our gratitude for this timely help to stimulate our young people to better work in the lines indicated. I understand that you received a copy of one of the prize essays of last summer, and shall make inquiries of the other competitor, — the young man receiving the second prize, — and if he has not already sent you a copy, I shall have one made and forwarded to you.

I believe you have never visited this institution, and I now give you a cordial invitation to do so. When you are in Tolland County, at your convenience, I should be glad to have you come and look over the work for yourself.

We found ourselves before the opening of the fall term with about thirty more applicants than we had accommodations for. By removing all single beds from rooms intended for but one pupil, and putting in double folding-beds and other devices, we were able to accommodate those who wished to

## PRIZES IN THE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

enter. We find ourselves very much crowded with our present accommodations, but are managing to get through the year, hoping that the coming Legislature will do something to relieve the pressure and give us means to do our work here.

Again, let me thank you for your help in our work.

Yours truly,

B. F. KOONS,

*Pres. Storrs Agricultural Col.*

## STATUE TO FREDERICK S. BROWN

*From the Hartford "Daily Times," Thursday,  
May 31, 1894.*

MAYOR BRAINARD received the following letter to-day, which he will submit to the Common Council for appropriate action: —

MIDLAND GRAND HOTEL, LONDON,  
May 17, 1894.

HON. LEVERETT BRAINARD, Mayor of Hartford, Conn.:

DEAR SIR, — I read in the "New York Herald" of May 7 of the death of Mr. Frederick S. Brown. With the approval of yourself and the authorities of the city of Hartford, I should be pleased to erect a monument to his memory, to cost not less than \$5,000, provided the same can be erected in one of the public parks of the city, — a cause in which he was so deeply interested. An early reply will oblige. Please write me, care S. S. Morgan & Co., Bankers, London.

Yours respectfully,

R. HICKS.

## STATUE TO FREDERICK S. BROWN

The Mayor referred the letter to the Park Commissioners.

At a meeting of the Park Commissioners on Wednesday, the offer of Mr. Ratcliffe Hicks to erect a monument on the park to the memory of the late Frederick S. Brown was considered. Mayor Brainard was requested to write to Mr. Hicks acknowledging the offer, and asking for information as to the style and plan of the proposed memorial. Before a reply could be received, Judge Sherman W. Adams, President of the Park Commissioners, wrote to Mayor Brainard in behalf of the Board, giving its conclusions respecting the offer of the Hon. Ratcliffe Hicks to erect at his own expense a memorial in the park to the late Frederick S. Brown. The letter is given in full : —

HARTFORD, CONN., June 4, 1894.

HON. LEVERETT BRAINARD, Mayor :

DEAR SIR, — The Board of Park Commissioners to whom you were pleased to refer the letter of Ratcliffe Hicks, Esq., containing his generous offer to erect a monument in one of the parks of this city in honor of the late Frederick S. Brown, Esq., has had said letter under consideration, and, as a result thereof, this Board hereby announces its conclusions as follows : —

First, a memorial of the kind in question, on, public grounds, here at the capital of the State would be a mark of great honor such as should be dedicated to the memory of Connecticut citizens who have rendered eminent services to the State

## RATCLIFFE HICKS

or nation only, whether these services were rendered on land or on sea, in the interests of science, beneficial legislation, alleviation of distress, or by benefactions in behalf of humanity in general.

Second, on the public grounds now in charge of this Board only two memorials have been erected, and each of them is in honor of a citizen whose services were of national importance. In the military service, such heroes as Mason, Treat, Lyman, Wooster, Spencer, Parsons, and others, of Colonial and Revolutionary fame, and Lyon and Sedgwick of the late war, are still without memorials. In the naval service, Hull, Chauncey, McDonough, Foote, and Ward are without such public recognition. So are such statesmen and jurists as John Winthrop, Oliver Ellsworth, Chauncey Goodrich, William Samuel Johnson, Zephaniah Swift, and a score of others who might be mentioned. Noah Webster, a native of Hartford, has not been thus honored. And there are sons of Connecticut who have been famous as poets, writers, scientists, or inventors who have deserved equal honors. So there have been distinguished theologians and physicians. It is not probable that more than a very few of these eminent men will have costly memorials or monuments erected to their honor on the public grounds of this city. Indeed, it is not desirable that there be many such works; otherwise those areas would have too much of the appearance of a cemetery.

## STATUE TO FREDERICK S. BROWN

Third, the principle involved is one that should not be encouraged by a precedent of this kind. If it come to be understood that a person may cause a monument to be erected in honor of some personal friend of his, in one of our parks, on the ground that it is to cost the city nothing, how long will it be before others will be coming forward with like proposals? And where may the procession end? If it be Mr. Hicks's idea to do honor to Mr. Brown as a former park commissioner, then we doubt the propriety of the erection of a public monument to the memory of any member of this Board, as such; and we think that if any person is to be honored by such a memorial because of great service in connection with our public parks, that person is the late Horace Bushnell.

Our friendship and esteem for Mr. Brown was quite equal to that of people in general; in fact, we were admirers of his many good qualities, and we duly appreciated his services to the public. But this is not a question of private friendship, and our deliberate judgment is as above set forth.

In behalf of the Board,

Very respectfully yours,

SHERMAN W. ADAMS,  
*President.*

Ratliffe Hicks writes Mayor Brainard from Carlsbad, Germany, under date of June 21:—

**RATCLIFFE HICKS**

**CARLSBAD, June 21, 1894.**

**HON. LEVERETT BRAINARD, Mayor of Hartford, Conn. :**

**DEAR SIR, —** Your polite letter of June 7 is just at hand. I regret the action of the authorities of your city. I had no thought of erecting the bust or monument as a memorial of a personal friend, but as a public testimonial to a man who had lived for fifty years and more in your own community, and who was without a superior in all those years in personal integrity, in urbanity of manner, in good common-sense, in all that rounds up and makes a perfect man.

**Yours sincerely,**

**RATCLIFFE HICKS.**



## GIFT

*To the Congregational Ecclesiastical Society of  
Tolland.*

TOLLAND, CONN., August 1, 1894.

SIR, — At the last Annual Meeting of the Congregational Ecclesiastical Society of Tolland, it was unanimously voted that the thanks of this Society be extended to you for your very generous gift of fifteen hundred dollars towards repairing and remodelling their church edifice, and also for your services as a member of the Building Committee.

The clerk of the meeting was instructed to communicate to you the above vote, and to enter the same upon the Records of the Society.

Respectfully,

EDWARD E. FULLER,  
*Clerk.*

To Mr. RATCLIFFE HICKS,  
Tolland, Conn.

## COUNTY REFORM

NEW YORK, NOV. 15, 1894.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COURANT":

I AM very glad to see that you are urging a revision of the laws governing the issuing of licenses and the conducting of county affairs. I introduced a resolution looking to that object at the last session of the Legislature, but seeing that the time was not ripe for such action I let the matter drop. I am firmly convinced that there are many radical changes needed.

First, I would have the county commissioners elected by the people, and take the miserable contest of their appointments out of the hands of the Legislature and away from the influence of the lobby.

Second, I would also have the county treasurer and county clerk and county auditor elected by the people instead of, as now, being appointed by the county commissioners. They are elected in all the cities and towns of Connecticut, and why should they not be in our counties?

## COUNTY REFORM

Third, I would provide for the licenses being issued by the clerk of the counties, a distinct office from the clerk of the courts, and that the money should be paid direct to the treasurer of each county by the licensees.

Fourth, I would have these licenses issued upon the approval of the selectmen of the town, and have no other hearing, — the same as is done in the case of the United States licenses.

Fifth, I would provide that the representatives of each county should meet at the shire town on some fixed day annually, instead of meeting at the Capitol at odd times, to listen to the written reports of the county commissioners, of the county treasurer, of the county clerk, and of the county auditor, and make such appropriations as they may deem wise from time to time for the repair and care of the county property and for all county expenses.

Sixth, I would provide that the county clerk should act as clerk at all the meetings of the representatives of the county, and keep correct records of all the doings of the county commissioners. The records of the doings of the county commissioners and of the transactions of county business for the past ten years are in most counties in a horrible condition, and in some counties there are no records at all.

Seventh, I would provide that the district attorney of each county should act as the legal

## RATCLIFFE HICKS

adviser of the county officers, and if necessary I would increase his salary for that purpose, and take away from the county commissioners the power of hiring one or half-a-dozen lawyers as they see fit, and pay them whatever they ask.

Eighth, I would take away the power of appointing prosecuting agents from the county commissioners, and create the office of assistant state's attorney. He should be appointed by the courts, the same as state's attorney; and he should have charge of all liquor prosecutions before the justice courts, and assist the state's attorney when the cases come to trial in the superior court. His services would be invaluable.

The county commissioners of Connecticut are more absolute than the autocrat of all the Russias. They contract and pay their own bills; they are responsible to nobody, and handle annually somewhere from half a million to a million dollars,—nearly as much as the entire receipts of the State of Connecticut. The governor is an infant in power compared with the patronage and authority vested in the absolute will of these county commissioners. They always have been an injury to any political party to which they belonged and which they attempted to serve, whether Republican or Democratic. It is time that this old, worn-out, antiquated, and cumbersome system of transacting the legitimate business of the people was modernized and methodized, and made in harmony with

## COUNTY REFORM

nineteenth-century ideas. By my vote and by my voice, if necessary, I will do what little lies in my power to help on this reform which you are so ably advocating.

RATCLIFFE HICKS.

## RETRENCHMENT

*Letter published in the "Meriden Record."*

HARTFORD, CONN., March 6, 1895.

THE State of Connecticut took the first step in the matter of administrative economy to-day when Ratcliffe Hicks's resolution for the appropriations committee to investigate the expenses of the different departments of the State government, with a view to retrenchment, was taken from the table and passed unanimously. Mr. Hicks made an able speech in favor of his measure, in which he said that the business men throughout the country are at present cutting down expenses, and it would be well for the State of Connecticut to do the same. He cited several instances wherein it seemed to him unusually large expenditures of money in different departments had been made. The contingent fund of the senate, he claimed, has heretofore been altogether too large, and should be looked into.

Judge Cowell of Waterbury seconded Mr. Hicks's remarks. Mr. Cowell's speech has set some of the members from New Haven County to thinking. Judge Cowell is one of the warmest advocates and supporters of the Waterbury court-house measure.

## THE BRIDGEPORT RAILROAD PROBLEM

HARTFORD, CONN., May 9, 1895.

TO THE HON. E. W. MARSH, Representative of Bridgeport :

DEAR SIR, — You were kind enough to ask me on Thursday last for my views on the Bridgeport grade-crossing bills. At that time I had not given the matter much attention, as I had been awaiting the action of the railroad committee, besides being occupied with public and private business. But since then I have been reflecting on the matter, and have settled in my own mind what will be my position, although I have had no opportunity to consult with any person, and therefore express only my own views.

First, I am earnestly in favor of a new lay-out, which shall carry the track of the Consolidated Railroad Company to the north of the city of Bridgeport. This, in my opinion, is the only route the company should ever adopt, thereby straightening their track, avoiding many curves and a drawbridge, and establishing a route which can be called permanent, and which will accommodate the people of Bridgeport and the travelling public in the near future, if not to-day, far better than the present lay-out.

## RATCLIFFE HICKS

Second, I cannot conceive how it is of any benefit to the tax-payers of Bridgeport to have a million people, more or less, hurled annually through the air thirty or forty feet above the street levels and looking down on them.

Third, I think the elevated track would be a great blot and blur on the good looks of Bridgeport.

Fourth, I think the smoke, the noise, and the dust from a railroad of four tracks, doubling and trebling its business every ten or twenty years, would become in the end a great nuisance.

Fifth, I do not think there is a single piece of property in Bridgeport which in the opinion of a fair commission will be benefited one dollar by reason of the elevation of the track.

Sixth, if the arguments of the Hon. William D. Bishop as to the failure of Bridgeport to contribute money towards the construction of this railroad company are to be considered or have any weight (and his social, financial, and political standing must necessarily give them great weight), then it follows necessarily that if Bridgeport is to contribute a large sum of money, it shall contribute it in the same manner and in the same way only as was the case with all the other cities and towns in Connecticut; to wit, by a majority vote of the people. And I am in favor of submitting the law to the approval of the voters of Bridgeport. No one has any right to bind or speak conclusively for them in this matter. The tax-payers of Bridge-



## THE BRIDGEPORT RAILROAD PROBLEM

port have never elected or selected any man, be he mayor, senator, representative in the General Assembly, or member of the Common Council, to act for them in such a weighty and important matter. It would be the greatest assumption of authority, and without a parallel in this State, for the present city officials or representatives in the Legislature to force upon the city of Bridgeport an indebtedness of five hundred thousand dollars, more or less, without leaving the matter to the decision of the voters, and without any direct authority to make such an arrangement.

Seventh, I think no business property in Bridgeport will be damaged by the new lay-out. I think Bridgeport will need, as time goes on, all its water front for other purposes than railroads. I think Bridgeport must necessarily grow northerly, and that in fifty years Bull's Head will be far nearer the centre of population than the present post-office or station. I think the railroad is of no benefit to adjoining property, — except, possibly, to a few factories with a side track. I think the railroad has no effect on the centre of business, and has made no difference in New Haven, Hartford, or Springfield. Chapel Street in New Haven and Main Street in Hartford and in Springfield have remained entirely unaffected by the location of the station; and so it is in ninety-nine cities out of a hundred throughout the United States.

RATCLIFFE HICKS

Eighth, there has never been any man connected with the Consolidated Railroad Company, except the Hon. Charles P. Clark, — with possibly one bare exception, Mr. Bishop, — who has been able to grasp the future of this railroad and to look twenty-five years ahead. In my opinion, he is about the only man whose descendants in fifty years from now can point to a single act of construction or lay-out by their ancestor which will meet with the admiration and approval of the men then living.

I advise, then, both as a tax-payer of Bridgeport deeply interested in its future prosperity, and as a friend of the Consolidated Railroad Company, that they shall establish a lay-out which will have plenty of grounds for stations, side-tracks, express offices, electric-car connections, carriage grounds, and which will accommodate Bridgeport fifty years from now, with its quarter of a million of inhabitants; and to reach that limit, the growth of Bridgeport in the next fifty years will not be as marvellous as it has been in the last fifty years.

Yours very respectfully,

RATCLIFFE HICKS.

## LETTER TO GOVERNOR COFFIN

HARTFORD, CONN., May 29, 1895.

HON. O. VINCENT COFFIN, Hartford, Conn. :

DEAR SIR, — I think it is not in many years that we have had a Governor more conscientious and more faithful in attending to the duties of his office than yourself, and I especially commend your course in the matter of the Whipple School. But I fear you little know the true condition of the public affairs in Connecticut relating to our beneficiary institutions, if you think that this is the only matter which deserves your serious and careful attention.

I will not in this letter attempt to explain fully all I know, but I will give you a few illustrations ; and whatever I state I am prepared to indorse as truthful.

First, within the last two years the executive committee of one of our great public institutions sat down to examine the bills of that institution. A bill was presented for ten barrels of sponges. No one on the committee seemed to know what it meant ; the clerk said he did n't either ; but finally the manager of the institution came in, and the question was referred to him. He replied that it

## RATCLIFFE HICKS

was for ten barrels of flour which his own family had used ; and he said he did n't propose to eat the flour furnished to the inmates. He said it was the first time since his connection with the institution that his bills had ever been questioned, and that he would at once give in his resignation. He instructed the secretary to make it out.

Second, within the last three years a gentleman was selected as a manager of one of our public institutions, and at the close of his first month he had many checks sent to him, amounting to nearly \$500, all which he returned. On inquiry he found that they were intended as commissions on the purchases made by the institution. The parties said they had been regularly paying these commissions for many years. How true this may be of other institutions I have not the means of knowing.

Third, in the files of the Treasurer's office at the Capitol can be found correspondence which will prove that a five per cent commission has been demanded and received for loans made out of the funds belonging to the School Fund office.

These instances will prove to you that you have a task to perform which involves the greatest amount of knowledge and intelligence, — which some of your predecessors never possessed, or, if possessing, never exercised.

Is it not, my dear Governor, about time to introduce honest business methods into the manage-

## LETTER TO GOVERNOR COFFIN

ment of all the institutions and departments of the State government, — the same business methods which have given Connecticut manufacturers and business men their present successful standing before the people of this country?

I think you are equal to the occasion, and I look for good results from your further investigation into the unfortunate condition of the public affairs of the State of Connecticut.

Yours very truly,

RATCLIFFE HICKS.

## RESOLUTIONS OF THANKS

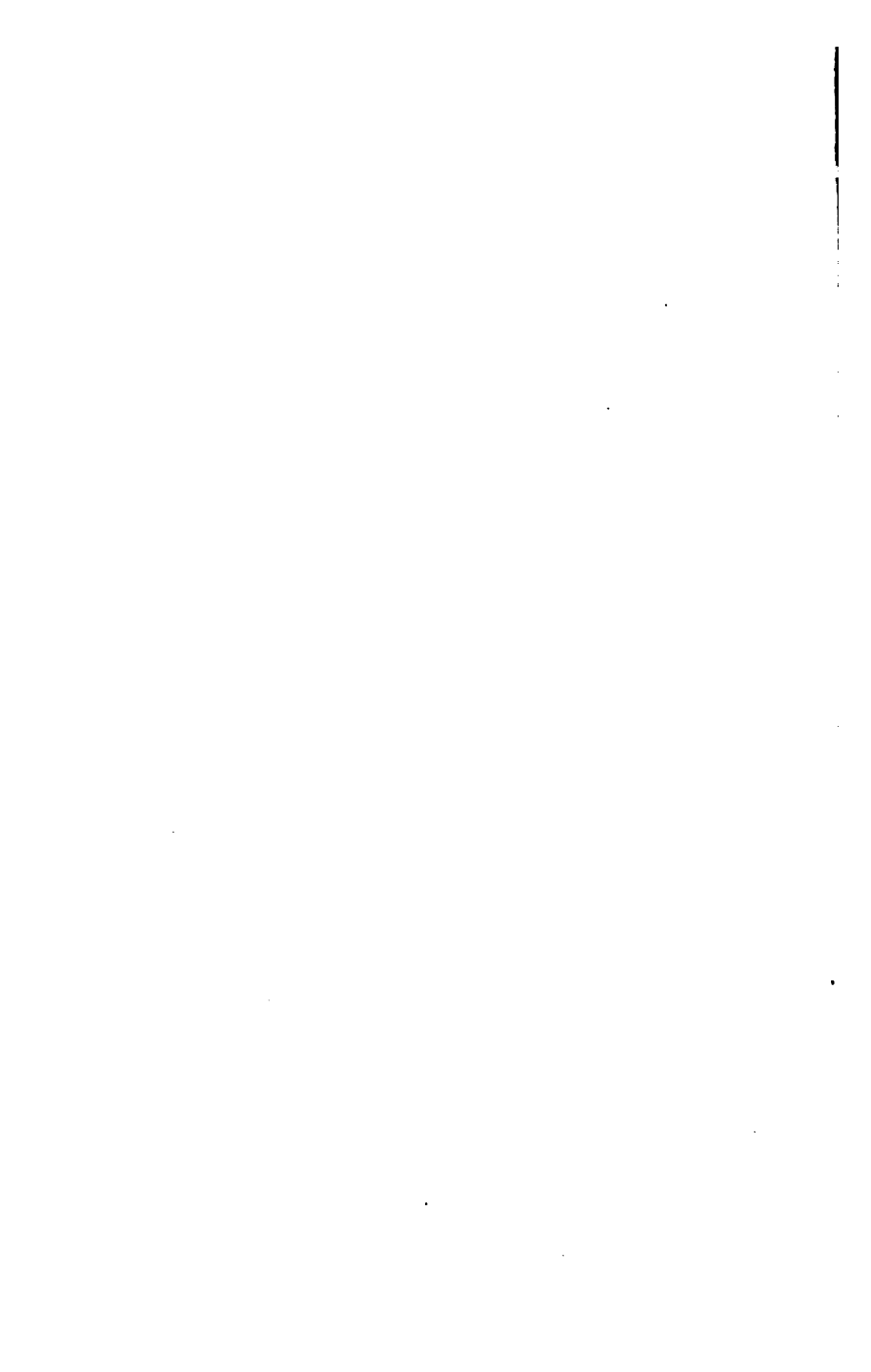
*From the Hartford Equal Rights Club.*

At the meeting of the Hartford Equal Rights Club, the following resolution was read and adopted : —

*Whereas*, The political rights of one-half of the adult citizens of this nation, the women, have been persistently ignored and their participation in public affairs denied, even to a voice in the education of their children, — and this wrong has been so long continued that men have become unconscious of its injustice and its injurious effects upon mankind, till only the more enlightened, just, and fair-minded realize that it is a wrong to woman and to society that should no longer be suffered to exist : therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Hartford Equal Rights Club tenders its thanks to the Hon. Ratcliffe Hicks for his earnest and admirable address in support of the woman's school suffrage bill and in favor of the political rights of women ; and the Club extends its cordial thanks to every member of the General Assembly who in good faith voted for the bill.

## INTERVIEWS





## AN OPINION ON CONGRESS

*An Interview in the "New York World,"*

*Nov. 5, 1893.*

BRIDGEPORT, November 4.

MR. RATCLIFFE HICKS, Representative in the General Assembly from Tolland, besides being one of the wealthiest manufacturers in Connecticut, is an influential politician. He has served several terms in the State Legislature, and in addition to being urged to accept the nomination for Congress from the First District, which includes Hartford, is prominently mentioned as a Democratic candidate for governor in the next election to succeed Governor Morris. He is the President and practically the sole owner of the Canfield Rubber Company, and as a successful business man has interesting opinions as to the cause of the recent financial depression. To a "World" representative to-day he had this to say:—

CONGRESS has voted away the people's money without stint, for pensions, for public buildings, for harbor improvements, for the army and navy, never thinking that every dollar they voted represented one man's day's work. Some man had to toil one whole day to supply every dollar which they have wasted like water.

## RATCLIFFE HICKS

It is economy at Washington ; it is economy in State, in city, and in town affairs ; it is economy in the management of factories, railroads, stores ; it is individual economy in living, — that will make this country rich and prosperous. You cannot eat your cake and have it. The Jeffersonian, the Jacksonian, the Tilden system of administering public affairs is the only one that will bring permanent and lasting prosperity to this country.

A majority of the members of Congress glory in the fact that they are not worth a dollar, that they do not know how to make a dollar, and that they never expect to be worth a dollar ; and yet these men propose to show other men how to make money ! If any man has money, they are ready to attribute it to luck or chance rather than to economy or industry and good judgment.

It is disgusting to read how this man and that man, this company and that company, have spread themselves out, borrowing money to promote or engage in hazardous business enterprises, hoping they can pay six per cent interest on borrowed capital, and still have a sure profit for themselves ; and the moment the business lulls, and the banks call for their loans, then they turn round, and instead of acknowledging their own want of business sagacity they lay all the blame on John Sherman and his little Silver Bill ; or perhaps, if they are Democrats, they lay the blame on the Republican maladministration ; or if they are

## AN OPINION ON CONGRESS

Republicans, they lay all the blame to the "horrid Democratic blunders." The wealthiest manufacturer in Connecticut was Henry H. Hubbard of Middletown; and he told me some years before he died that he had not given a note in twenty-five years, and that in a business career of fifty years he had not paid one moment's attention to anything that Congress was doing; that he had run his factories on business principles, and paid no heed to political legislation, and that before doing so he would go out of business entirely.

What the people of this country want is an honest and economical government. Congress has been altogether too extravagant with the people's money, and they want a government that will keep its hands out of class legislation, whether you call it silver or iron or tin or wool or coal or sugar, and let the people of this magnificent country—the richest the sun shines on—work out their own destiny; and then they will come out all right. It will never do to run this government to please Wall Street or government parasites. Wall Street howls for Congressional action. What for? That they can put on a confiding public more cordage, more lead, more sugar trusts, more schemes full of water or gas, or both. There has got to be a panic; and panics are healthy. They bring business down to a normal level, and men to their senses; they teach a lesson to men who are floating on financial bladders; they kill the wicked

## RATCLIFFE HICKS

schemes emanating from Wall Street, wherein honest people are led by dividends paid but never earned, and by false statements, to take bonds and stocks in its swindling schemes, and thereby withdraw millions from honest enterprises to make a few rogues rich at the expense of the vast public. These are two terrible elements that prey upon the public. They produce nothing, they do not add a dollar to the values of this country, and their wishes are no more to be consulted than the inmates of an insane asylum.

I believe in the Washburn Bill. I believe that no man should be permitted to sell what he cannot deliver. I believe that gambling in Wall Street is no better than gambling on a horse-race; and in fact I believe it is more injurious to business interests, for in Wall Street they gamble upon the necessities of life and upon the materials on which manufacturers must work; they speculate and make false values in corn, in wheat, in pork, in iron, in lead, in cotton, and in sugar, thereby both robbing the producer of the fruits of his honest toil, and harassing and confusing the manufacturer, who is unable to make any satisfactory calculation for the future.

It is not political speeches nor editorials that the common people of this country need, but a few tracts,—like those issued by Franklin under the name of "Poor Richard," condensing the wisdom of Franklin; like those of John Stuart Mill,

## AN OPINION ON CONGRESS

of Adam Smith, of Thomas R. Malthus, of Francis Wayland,—showing that wealth and prosperity are not to be gained from or through the government, but by every man and every business concern observing certain cardinal principles in living, in expenses, and ~~in the conducting~~ of business. It is in this way that the working-people of France have become so wealthy. I have seen them standing all night in the streets of Paris to be ready to subscribe for a new government loan the next morning; and they subscribed for fifty times the amount the government required.

I believe that all the currency of this country should be issued by the Government. I believe that the examination of banks should be taken out of politics, and should be under the supervision of men appointed by United States judges, and they should hold their place during life or good behavior. There should be no more politics in the management of a bank than in that of a factory.

I believe that the United States government should be responsible for all deposits in a national bank. This would not be such a serious undertaking for the Government, and its very assurance or guarantee would prevent runs and unwholesome withdrawals of deposits. Or, if this system is not adopted, then the government should make the results of its investigations known publicly, the same as is done in city and town affairs. National banks secure the confidence of the public because

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of the fact that they are subject to examination by the government, and countless millions are intrusted to them every day for this reason. And yet these confiding depositors have no means of knowing the character of the bank or the safety of their deposits; for ~~whatever the~~ <sup>what</sup> examinations ~~made~~, the results thereof are not disclosed to the depositors, the men above all others who should know. They are made to the Comptroller of the Currency at Washington, and to the President and Cashier of the bank in the way of reprimands or cautions; but all information as to the weakness or bad management of a national bank is religiously withheld from the only disinterested party in the whole transaction, — the depositor, who is left to shift for himself. Let the government adopt the plan of making public the results of bank examinations, and there would be no more runs on banks, and no more hoarding of money by frightened depositors. Three hundred million dollars of currency was withdrawn from the banks and hidden in stockings and safes this summer, for want of this very confidence. A bank should mail to every depositor (in justice also to their stockholders) a copy of each report of the government examiner, and thus keep the depositors aware of the condition and standing of the bank in which they have deposited their money. You cannot blame the public for losing confidence in the banks when they are kept in ignorance of

## AN OPINION ON CONGRESS

their true condition, and in many cases are grossly misled by the statement of bank officers.

What the business interests of this country demand is that Congress shall stop legislating for classes as against the masses; stop legislating in the interest of the bankers; and legislate a little more in the interest of the depositors; that it should stop legislating in the interest of a few pet manufacturers, for of all the industries of this country none are so dead to-day as the pampered industries, like silk, woollen, gun, cutlery, wooden screws, and iron, and a host of others that were unjustly protected until they became so profitable that hundreds of people engaged in the same line of business, — so that finally it was no longer foreign competition which they feared, but the competition at their next door, necessitating trusts, combinations, and pooling schemes to keep up profits and prevent over-production.

Let Congress adjourn for five years, and go home and stay there, and the business interests of this country will take care of themselves. If Congress will only go home, we prophesy that Grover Cleveland will never again call it together. President Harrison was not far from right when he called Congress "Cleveland's wild horses."

## A TRIBUTE TO NEW ORLEANS

*From the New Orleans "Picayune,"*

*March 16, 1894.*

HON. RATCLIFFE HICKS is one of the wealthiest men in New England, and one of the most successful business men of the day. He is the president of the Canfield Rubber Works of Connecticut, a member of the Legislature, and prominent in politics. Mr. Hicks has made some investments in New Orleans, and expresses himself as delighted beyond all expectation with the city. He said to a reporter of the "Picayune" last night in his rooms at the Grunewald Hotel:—

I HAVE been all over the world, but I have never seen an avenue or a public thoroughfare of any kind that equals St. Charles Avenue. I desire to say that it is the prettiest street I have ever seen. It possesses a uniqueness that charms; and the vegetation and the lay of the grounds, as well as the style of the buildings which line the street, please the eye and suggest to the observer the delight that one must feel to reside in such a community and on such a street.

To say that I am delighted with New Orleans would be to express myself mildly. This is a



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wonderful city, presenting to any American who resides in the North or the West an individuality that is unknown to any other metropolis in the United States, or anywhere for that matter. New Orleans needs to be advertised in the North, and the advantages of the city as a winter resort set forth. The death-rate ought to be shown up and compared with other cities in order to disabuse the public mind, for there certainly exist erroneous opinions of New Orleans in the North. A great many people there believe that the city is unhealthy. I know it is not, and every one ought to know it. These matters should be published to the world, and repeated until the belief becomes general, that instead of having here an unhealthy city you have one of the healthiest in the United States, or in any other country, with a death-rate lower than can be found almost anywhere else, all things compared. I have found that in the winter-time this is a good city to come to when one is suffering with a bronchial trouble. Your average yearly temperatures should be published during all the seasons. I myself don't think the summer here is half so disagreeable as the summer in New York or Chicago. New Orleans can be commended as a summer resort as well as a winter resort. Another thing: you have all along the gulf coast suburban watering-places that surpass similar places in Florida or anywhere else. People throughout the country have very little idea about

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it because it has never been advertised. I am afraid you people down here don't use enough printer's ink in speaking of your own greatness. I have been along the Mediterranean. There the monsoons which come about four o'clock in the afternoon drive the pleasure-seekers indoors, and the clear and beautiful sea is turned into a boisterous one.

New Orleans and its suburbs are much better than any place in Florida for winter resorts. There is nothing in Florida to interest people. California is too far away. Here are amusements of all kinds, and a great diversity of interesting things to be seen. You have a great many novelties that please the eye. I have been in Paris, and I am frank in saying that I have found the surroundings here preferable. There is however one thing which you lack: you should have better drainage. Then, too, you need more hotels, for nothing brings people to a city like good hotels. You have not near enough here to accommodate the people who want to come, or who will come. It is a fact that more hotels bring more people. This is a nice one to stop in, but you should have more like it. With better accommodations and facilities for the entertainment of strangers, there is no reason in the world why this city should not become the greatest resort in the United States. You have the opera and the races; and then there is the vegetation and the foliage and the flowers; and the people are hos-

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pitable and kind. The city is full of social life and pleasure, and the business men don't wear themselves out making money to the exclusion of all other duties of life. The people are interesting, educated, and refined. The clubs are not excelled anywhere. I have gone down to some of the clubs here, and found men playing chess at three o'clock in the afternoon. They will talk to you about the opera, the drama, politics or factory or anything, but they seldom speak of business in social life. Now, in New York you go into a club, and the men are talking about the exchanges and the rise and fall of stocks. They eat a lunch in three minutes, more or less, and are gone again. Not so here.

There is a prejudice against New Orleans which a free use of printer's ink should eradicate. It is groundless. I believe so much in New Orleans that I propose to buy some more property here, and shall probably move my family here in the future.

Another thing I should speak of, and that is the great commercial advantages afforded by Nature to this city. Situated as it is at the mouth of the greatest river in the world, it becomes at once a metropolis, with an incalculable commercial future. Your cotton and sugar and rice are products which keep up trade and business, and are not dependent upon legislation altogether for their existence. They are three of the necessities, and will of

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course find a market. This keeps up business, and renders values less liable to fluctuation. Your business interests don't vary so much with tariff changes as those in the New England States do. Too much cannot be said of New Orleans.

## A TARIFF COMMISSION

*Interview published in the "New York World,"  
April 8, 1894.*

BRIDGEPORT, April 7.

RATCLIFFE HICKS, a leading manufacturer of this city and one of the leading politicians of the State, returned yesterday. He has been on an extensive trip through Brazil and Central America, Mexico and Lower California. Mr. Hicks has always taken an active interest in politics. For four years he has been a legislative representative from Tolland, and has been identified with many State reforms. He is also mentioned prominently as a candidate for governor in the fall elections on the Democratic ticket. It is generally believed that in the contest for this election the nomination will be between Ratcliffe Hicks and E. C. Benedict. Neither is anxious for the nomination on account of the unsettled condition of the tariff, but probably either will accept the nomination if the interests of the Democratic party of Connecticut demand it. When Mr. Hicks left last fall, Congress was just beginning to discuss the tariff question, with every prospect of speedily settling it. Most of the time since Mr. Hicks has been out of reach of the daily papers, and was surprised on his return to find that

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Congress had done so little. His remarks on the subject are interesting. To a "World" representative he said :—

I THINK the Wilson Bill is probably as good a bill as can be drawn by politicians. They are swapping jackknives down in Washington; that is all: "If you vote for my scheme, I will vote for yours." This is without regard to the interests of the tax-payers and the consumers of the country. Politicians have been fighting over this tariff question seventy-five years, and they will probably continue to fight over it seven hundred and fifty years longer if the people will let them do it. The tariff should be taken entirely out of politics, and be committed to a board of the most intelligent, non-partisan, disinterested men that can be found in the country. They should hold office for a term of ten years, and should receive the same salary as judges of the United States Supreme Court; all interested parties should have a right to appear before them and present their claims, and the decision of the board should be final for a given number of years. This is what the business interests of the country demand, and what they will some day have in spite of the politicians; for politicians thrive on this tariff question.

I think the Income tax is the most just and reasonable tax ever proposed. It is the tax of

## A TARIFF COMMISSION

the world, for every nation has it; and if left to the people, it would be voted by a majority so overwhelming that the opponents would be in a contemptible minority. I am glad that the Democratic party has taken up this issue. My only fear is that the Republicans will not dare to make it a party issue.

Upon disposing of the tariff question, Congress ought to adjourn and go home, after cutting down the appropriations from fifty to one hundred millions at least. The people of this country pay more tax per head than any nation in the world, and have the least to show for it. Our army costs as much, practically, as any of the armies of France, Germany, Russia, or England, and in comparison looks like a fly on an elephant. Our navy costs us about as much as the navy of France or England, and is a picnic party compared with the naval armament of those countries. We have the most extravagant and most wasteful government in the world. What we need at Washington is a business men's government. We have a business man for President of the United States, and what we want in Congress is more business men and fewer lawyers. We want more voting and less talking. We want business methods applied to the administration of the affairs of this government. We are living under a system adopted one hundred years ago by a few planters from Virginia, and it no more meets the requirements

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of the age than would a stagecoach for transporting passengers from Boston to New York. We want the same businesslike method in the management of government affairs as is applied to vast railroad interests like the Pennsylvania road, or the New York Central, whose annual receipts and disbursements far exceed those of the United States government prior to the War of the Rebellion.

I asked W. H. Barnum once why he did not, with all his political influence, get some government contracts. He said that this United States government would make any man dishonest who had any business to transact with it. You had to go to Washington, he said, and lie round hotels for weeks to get a contract. Then you had to sit in the anteroom of some bureau officer and wait his time for approving your vouchers; and after you had waited weeks for this man to act, who worked with no vim and was green to his business (probably some broken-down politician), the chances are that you would be at last told that the appropriation was exhausted, and you would have to wait until the next session of Congress. Finally, you would give up in disgust, and put your claim into the hands of some attorney who had the run of the Department. Consequently, every contractor had to ask from twenty-five to fifty per cent more than he would of an individual, in order to reimburse himself for his time, trouble, and expense.



## A TARIFF COMMISSION

The Post-office building at Hartford cost the government about \$700,000. The wealthiest contractor in Connecticut has repeatedly informed me that he would build one exactly like it for \$300,000. So it has been all over the country in everything that the government has attempted to do. Why the elevator in the Post-office at Hartford has not been running, so I am informed, because the appropriations are exhausted ! Ex-Collector Byxbee informed me that he could not get money enough to buy either a broom or a snow-shovel while he was collector of the port of New Haven for four years, to clear off the snow from the sidewalks in front of the Custom House. These are only a few of the hundreds and thousands of instances that are occurring every day all over the country (the newspapers are full of them) which show how the entire system of running the business affairs of the government needs remodelling.

The hope of this country is that some day a man like S. J. Tilden will come to the front ; and it will make no difference whether he is a Democrat or a Republican, so long as he and his party shall remodel the affairs of our government, bring order out of chaos, stop corruption and stealing, and prevent the awful waste of the tax-payers' money, which in my opinion has done more to bring on the present distressing state of business in the United States than any other one thing.

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Remember always that every dollar the government expends costs some man one whole day's work to earn, as a dollar is the average daily wages throughout the United States; and remember, also, that economy is the only royal road to national or individual wealth.

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES":

As more or less has been said in the newspapers in regard to my candidacy for the Democratic nomination for Governor next fall, permit me to say through the columns of your paper that I am not a candidate for that or any other office. Under no circumstances will I accept the same. I write this letter in justice to the many good men whose names have been mentioned. Whoever is nominated will receive my cordial support.

A friendly reporter overstated my position some months ago. Those who have known me long and well will bear me witness that at no time has it been my intention or desire to force my candidacy upon the party.

To those who have spoken kindly of my nomination I tender my thanks; and their kind words are better to me than an election. Permit me to add that there are certain important changes in the administration of public affairs in Connecticut, and

## DECLINES THE NOMINATION

certain great economies in the public expenditures of the State, in which I became interested during my service in the last two sessions of the General Assembly, and which I hope to see accomplished in the near future. They have no political bearing.

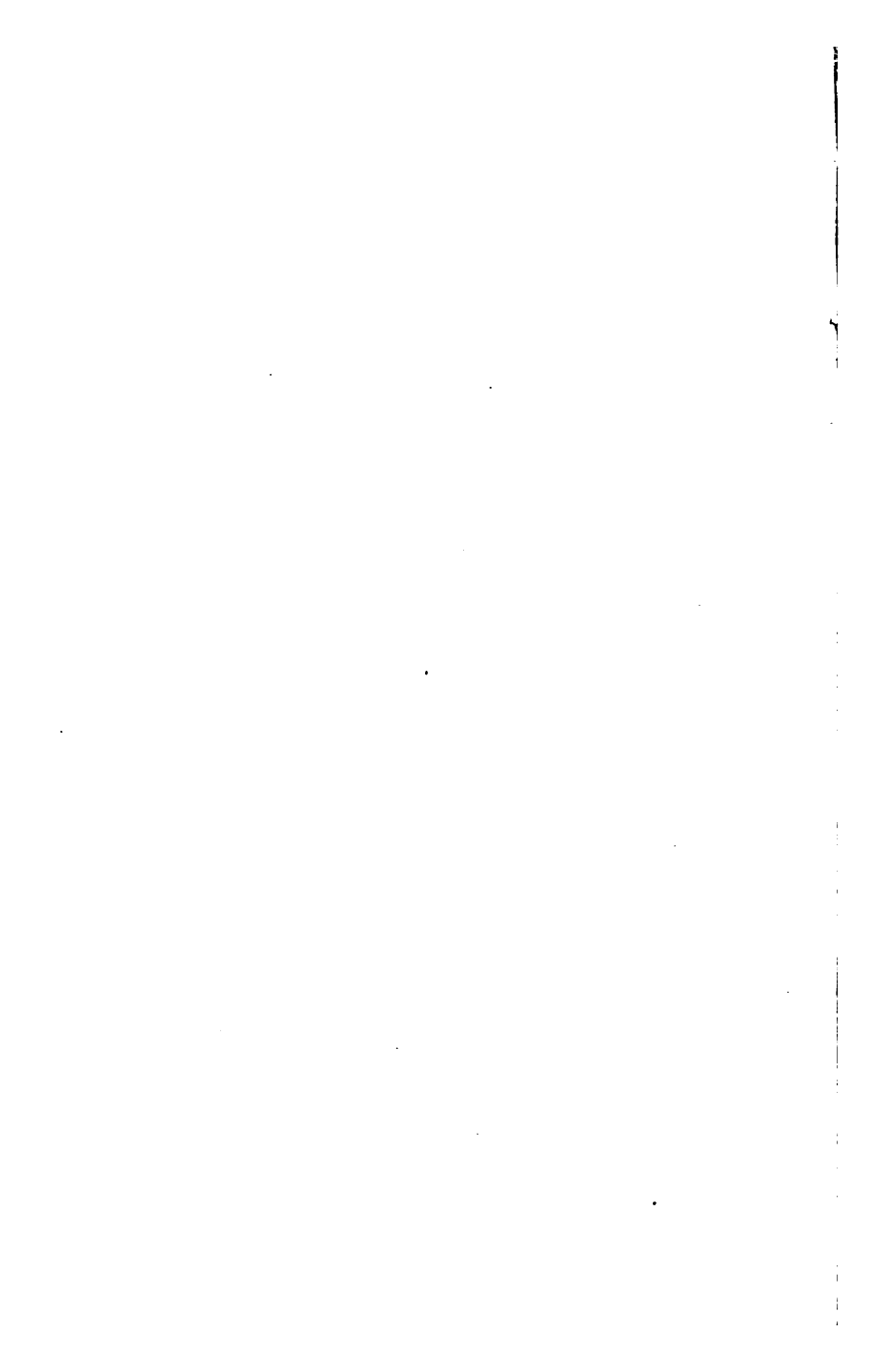
RATCLIFFE HICKS.

NEW YORK, April 6, 1896.

THE END.



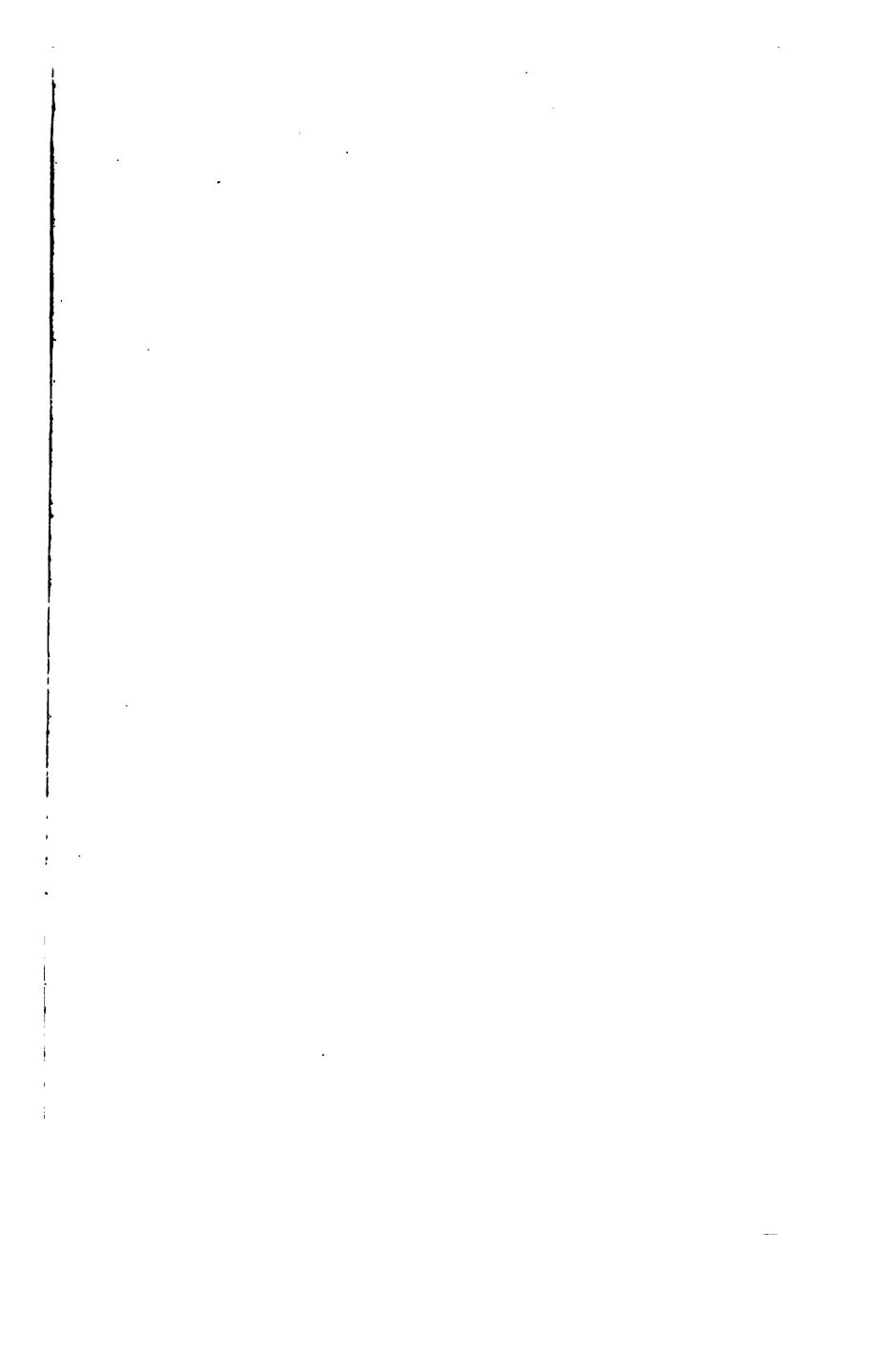
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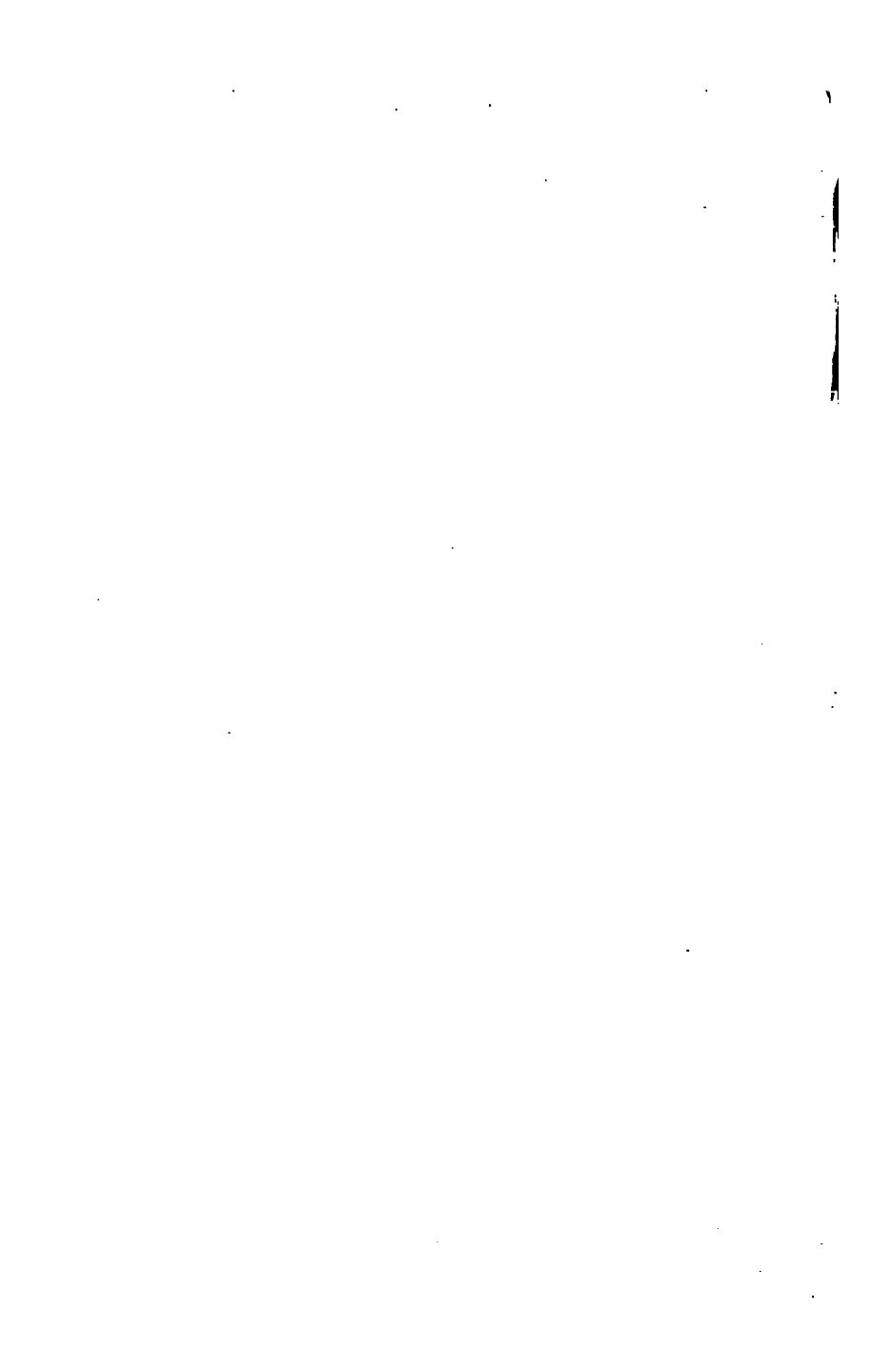


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